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MODERN STATE

OF

SPAIN:

EXHIBITING

A complete View of its Topography, Government, Laws, Religion, Finances, Naval and Military Establishments; and of Society, Manners, Arts, Sciences, Agriculture, and Commerce in that Country.

BY J. FR. BOURGOING,

LATE MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY FROM FRANCE TO THE COURT OF MADRID.

TRANSLATED FROM THE LAST PARIS EDITION OF

1807.

TO WHICH ARE ADEDD,

Essays on Spain by M. Peyron; and the Book of Post Roads.

WITH A QUARTO ATLAS OF PLATES.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR JOHN STOCKDALE, PICCADILLY.

1808.

T. Bensley, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.

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TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

HISTORY

At a moment when the eyes of all true patriots of every nation are directed with hope, not unmixed with solicitude, to a country, where the early dawn of independence encourages the fondest presages of meridian lustre; where a Saragossa, a Bilboa, a Gerona, are emulating the ancient fame of a Saguntum and a Numantia; where the achievements of a Palafox, a Castanos, and a host of heroes, recal the most brilliant eras of the history of Spain; it cannot be deemed unseasonable to present the public with the translation of a work, calculated to afford a correct idea of that country and its high spirited inhabitants, lately our enemies, but now our cordial allies.

Within the last twenty or thirty years, various travellers have given to the world

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the result of their observations on Spain; but none of these writers, perhaps, has embraced such a variety of subjects of universal interest, especially at the present crisis, as M. Bourgoing; and none of their productions bears the stamp of such evident authenticity.

M. Bourgoing certainly enjoyed peculiar advantages and facilities for obtaining information relative to the country which he has here undertaken to describe. He resided several years, and at different periods, in Spain, in a diplomatic capacity; and in addition to his long intercourse with persons of almost every class of the Spanish nation, he applied with great assiduity to the study of its language and manners.

The publication of a fourth edition of his work sufficiently attests the degree of estimation in which the author's labours are held among his own countrymen. It is from this improved and enlarged edition,

which exhibits a picture of Spain in 1806, and contains many interesting particulars relative to some of the principal actors in the present glorious revolution, that this translation has been executed.

M. Bourgoing enters the country by way of Bayonne, and proceeds through Biscay and the two Castiles to Madrid, taking notice in his progress of whatever appears worthy of a digression. Having reached the metropolis, he directs his attention to the various branches of the administration; to the character and manners of the inhabitants of Spain; and to every subject connected with the state of society, the arts, sciences and literature, the agriculture, commerce and manufactures of that kingdom. The details that relate to the naval and military resources of this ancient and extensive monarchy will not be perused, at this juncture, without lively interest.

Leaving the capital M. Bourgoing con-

ducts the reader to the southern provinces of the Peninsula, and back to Madrid. He then describes several excursions in the environs of the metropolis, and in particular a visit which he paid to Arragon, and returns to France through the kingdom of Valencia and Catalonia. Thus it appears that the various theatres of the arduous struggle in which Spain is at this moment engaged, are more especially the objects of the author's notice.

It is obvious that since the recent attempt of Bonaparte to usurp the throne of the Spanish monarchs, and the total change effected by this atrocious design in the sentiments of that nation, and in its relations with France and Britain; many of the political views and observations introduced by the author in the course of this work, are no longer applicable. This, however, cannot be deemed any drawback from its utility, since it must be evident that those measures, whether of a purely

political or of a commercial nature, which had either proved, or were likely to prove in reality, mutually beneficial during its former connection with our enemies, may, with equal advantage, be adapted to the interests of Spain and the British empire, in the present posture of affairs.

There are, in fact, few classes of persons but what may derive advantage from the information communicated in this performance. The traveller, the merchant, the manufacturer, will find numberless valuable hints dispersed throughout these volumes; while the statesman, recollecting the prudent maxim,

"Fas est et ab hoste doceri,"

may gather from their pages many an important lesson in the art of conciliating the affections of our new allies, and cementing between the British and Spanish nations, a friendship, the durability of which cannot be too ardently desired.

It only remains to observe that, in compliance with the advice of characters not less distinguished for rank than for talents and sound judgment, the publisher has added to the work of M. Bourgoing a fourth volume, comprehending the most interesting portion of M. Peyron's *Essays on Spain*; and he has no doubt that this addition will also receive the sanction of public approbation.

November, 1808.

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MODERN STATE OF SPAIN.

CHAP. I.

Carriages, inns, and roads. Particulars relating to the province of Biscay; its liberties and privileges; patriotism of the Biscayans. Bilboa, Saint Sebastian, Vittoria, &c.

IN the month of September, 1777, I visited Spain for the first time, as Secretary to the French embassy, but a few months after a change of administration had taken place at Madrid, and when it was of importance to develope and ascertain the sentiments of the new ministers, on the grand dispute between North America and Great Britain.*

* It is universally known that there are three high roads leading from France into Spain; one from St. Jean de Luz to Irun; another from St. Jean Pied-de-Port to Roncevalles; the third from Boulou to Jonquiere. But it is far from being so generally known (and is indeed what I was

Of the three routes generally pursued, I determined to adopt that of St. Jean de Luz. Having arrived at Bayonne, instead of proceeding by the post road to Orogna, which is five leagues from that city, and two from the frontiers, I exchanged my carriage for a less elegant vehicle, called by the Spaniards *coche de colleras*, in which the traveller, before he becomes used to it, proceeds with no little inconvenience and alarm. It is a clumsy inconvenient carriage drawn by six mules, which have no other spur or rein than the voice of their guides. On seeing them harnessed together, and to the shafts, merely by cords, and observing them traversing as it were at random, the winding and sometimes

myself unacquainted with till 1795, when I was informed by an ingenious geographer, who had examined with minuteness, and actually delineated the different passes or defiles of the Pyrenees), that from the pass of Bagnouls, which is the nearest to the Mediterranean, to the valley of Aran, near the sources of the Garonne, there are no less than seventy-five passes over the Pyrenees, twenty-eight of which are practicable for cavalry, and seven for carriages and artillery. One of these last, on the existence of which it is impossible to entertain a doubt, is the *Col des Orts*, in a parallel line with that of Perthus, on the other side of Bellegarde, as by this route the Spaniards, in 1792, entered St. Laurent de Cerda, and thence invaded two of our provinces.

unfrequented roads of the Peninsula,* the traveller at first conceives himself as deriving all his dependence for safety from the care and kindness of Providence; but on the slightest appearance of danger, a simple and short exclamation from the *mayoral*, or chief muleteer, restrains and directs these tractable animals. When their exertions relax, the *zagal*, or postilion, darts from the shafts, where he is stationed as sentinel, exercises his whip, or animates them with his voice, runs along with them for a considerable way, and then returns to his station, till some new crisis calls for a repetition of his efforts. This perpetual vigilance of the two guides at length inspires the traveller with confidence, though he finds it impossible to repress his astonishment, that so hazardous a mode of journeying is so rarely attended with serious accidents. Another difficulty, to which the traveller cannot easily accustom himself, arises from the inns of Spain, which are, in general, destitute of every accommodation;

* This is the name given by the natives to Spain, which is well known to be surrounded by the sea on every side, but that of the Pyrenees. The term was, unquestionably, adopted originally when Portugal constituted a portion of the Peninsula, and is inaccurate since that kingdom recovered its independence.

the apartments, beds, and attendance, are miserable. In order to obtain the most homely refreshment, the traveller must personally solicit the assistance of the butcher, baker, and grocer. In this respect, however, a very sensible improvement has taken place within a few years. Before the ministry of M. Florida Blanca, no such article existed as a public stage coach; there was no road which would admit of post travelling, unless on horseback; and with the exception of the road through Galicia from Pontevedra, near the Western Ocean, to Corogna; of another in the north of Castile, from Reynosa to the sea; of those of Navarre and Biscay, for which the inhabitants are indebted solely to their own efforts and patriotism, there was not a regularly good road for ten leagues together, passable at every season of the year, throughout the whole kingdom of Spain. That minister, in consequence of his almost unlimited authority, had the means of benefiting his country by the most eminent services; but what he sometimes presented as decided and matured plans, appeared, at length, to be only half measures and temporary inclinations. The conception of his schemes was ardent, but he wanted steadiness and judgment for their execution; yet, during the fifteen years of his

administration, he at least furnished the outlines of several valuable improvements. From the year 1777 to 1789, he was by no means faithful to the French alliance, to which he nevertheless professed the strongest attachment. His irritable temper and national jealousy had given us more than one just cause of complaint. Since that period he has been one of the most determined enemies of our revolution; and it was not his fault that it was not strangled in its birth. Were he still in power, it would, perhaps, be a delicate task to treat his character and measures with justice and impartiality; as he is in disgrace, it becomes an imperious duty.

In the first place, then, the establishment of a stage coach for six passengers, which sets off twice a week from Bayonne for Madrid, and arrives within six days in summer and eight in winter, is attributable to this minister. In the interval between the periods of its departure, the mules belonging to it are employed in conveying such travellers as have carriages of their own, and it was thus that I was conveyed from Bayonne to Madrid in the year 1792. This establishment was at first, in 1789, conducted at the expence and for the emolument of a private individual, but in the ensuing year it was taken from him, and

transferred into the hands of government. During the war it was suspended; but it is hoped that it will soon be resumed with full and unremitting activity. It supplies an easy medium of intercourse between the individuals of two nations, who, during their long and intimate alliance, entertained a favourable prepossession for each other; who have increased this regard even by their mutual gallantry in the field of battle; and who, having now allayed an animosity, originating in merely temporary circumstances, can scarcely fail to entertain for each other a durable and high esteem. But to return to those useful institutions, which M. Florida Blanca had at least the merit of suggesting for the benefit of his country.

His principal object was the improvement of the roads. In 1777 there were no good roads between Bayonne and Cadiz, with the exception of those from Biscay, Navarre, and the roads which lead from the Escurial and Aranjuez to the metropolis. In 1792 I found one, truly magnificent, which, beginning from Irun, continued without interruption four leagues beyond Burgos, and with short intervals only, from that place to Madrid. But for that check which useful undertakings ever experience from war, however just or

successful, these intervals would have been also finished: a distance of about twelve leagues only remain to be completed, to make the road from the Bidassoa to Madrid one of the finest in Europe. Very little also is wanting to complete that from Madrid to Cadiz. In 1778 this road was in winter almost impassable; in 1785 it had undergone a repair, and the practice of posting in carriages had been introduced upon it: it is now very nearly finished, and the communication between these two cities, the most important in the whole Peninsula, is at length become easy and expeditious.*

With respect to inns, notwithstanding the exertions of the same minister, they are still far from perfection. The improvement of these establishments, which he projected and began, is an attempt of greater difficulty in Spain than elsewhere. Obstacles are met with in local circumstances, in the manners, revenue duties, and, in a certain degree, in the constitution

* A very rapid mode of travelling, however, but at the same time extremely expensive, has existed in Spain for a considerable time; this is done by ordering relays previously on the road which the traveller intends to pass. These relays, consisting of six mules, which are harnessed and fixed to the carriage in an instant, will dispatch a stage of five or six leagues in less time than it could be posted in any part of Europe.

of the country, which sanctions exclusive privileges and monopolies, and establishes them as appendages to seignorial possessions. Thus the right to sell articles of indispensable necessity is often attached to one individual inhabitant, with whose privilege no other is allowed to interfere. It was necessary to compromise with these obstacles, and, as it was impracticable to remove them, to manage them with as much delicacy and address as possible; and many inns, at least tolerable, have been recently established. On the road travelled by the coach already mentioned several are to be found, provided with beds, linen, and even plate, in which the landlords have permission to supply provisions to the passengers. On other roads, likewise, some very respectable inns are to be met with, and also in all the principal cities. In those of every other part of the kingdom, however, the traveller experiences every inconvenience and privation, and it is scarcely possible for him to exaggerate, in his description of them, the disgust which he actually feels.

The Spaniards can scarcely flatter themselves that a complete amelioration on this subject will for a long time take place. Various circumstances must concur in forwarding whatever constitutes the prosperity of states. With-

out good roads, it is impossible that a country should possess good inns, and where both these are wanting, it must be absurd to expect an influx of travellers, which in its turn improves both inns and roads. To induce these visits of foreigners, certain attractions must also be presented to them, either in the way of pleasure or information. They must be encouraged to expect the charms of innocent dissipation, or the re-establishment of health; and if a country be situated at one of the extremities of Europe, they must be tempted to visit it by its monuments of the arts, by its splendid and ingenious industry, or its extensive commerce; nor should they look in vain for the elegancies of life and the polish of society: at all events they should be enabled to perceive and to experience the enjoyment of civil and religious liberty. But few will travel into Spain purposely to observe in one part of it admirable roads conducting over barren plains, as in both the Castiles; in another the most miserable roads through countries abounding in cultivation and industry, as along the coasts of Valencia and Catalonia; to find cities in ruins, and nearly deserted, and a court from which pleasure is almost banished; to behold, in short, a country which possesses few valuable remains of antiquity, where the arts are in

their infancy, where the climate scorches, and the inquisition excites universal terror!

Spaniards, our estimable allies as well as neighbours, who are, on so many accounts, worthy of being intimately known; go on in the improvement of your roads, and increasing the accommodation and number of your inns; your country will then be travelled through with convenience and facility; yet still, to induce the traveller to prolong his visit with perfect satisfaction, it must possess certain recommendations, some of which are unfortunately denied by nature, others can only result from time and perseverance.

Quitting Bayonne, the traveller passes through St. Jean de Luz, after three long leagues of road rugged and in very bad repair. He then passes a bridge over a small arm of the sea, and immediately beyond the bridge he perceives the suburbs of Sibourra. His next object is the church of Orogna, and he is now only one long league from Irun, the first Spanish village beyond the Bidassoa. This small river, which forms a boundary, became celebrated in the reign of Lewis the Fourteenth, in consequence of an island formed by it, very near, and to the right of, the place where it is crossed. It was known by the name of "the Isle of Pheasants." On be-

coming the scene of the interview between Cardinal Mazarin and Don Louis de Haro, which terminated in the signature of the peace of the Pyrenees, it received the appellation of "the Isle of the Conference." It is small, uninhabited, and almost barren, and is indebted for its fame, like many persons of moderate talents, but of great celebrity, merely to a fortunate and casual circumstance.

Having crossed this river, the traveller enters the province of Biscay. The country presents an appearance but little varied from that which he has just quitted, but the difference between the last roads of France and the first in Spain was, in 1793, completely to the advantage of the latter kingdom.

The roads of Biscay, at least those by which it is traversed from north to south, may be enumerated as among the most excellent in Europe. Few situations presented greater difficulties to be surmounted. The province of Biscay is contiguous to the Pyrenees (which on this side are by no means so elevated as towards the center and in the eastern series of them), and appears an immense prolongation of these mountains, extending even to the borders of Castile. To the completion of a road through such a country, precipitous descents or craggy prominences opposed, in many places,

the most formidable obstacles; to surmount which, the application of all that skill in the construction of roads which can be derived from genius and experience was absolutely requisite. The three provinces of Biscay, Guipuscoa, Vizcaya, and Alava, jointly contributed their exertions for this object, as they do on every subject relating to their common interest. Indeed this portion of Spain forms a striking contrast to the rest of the Peninsula, and well merits particular attention.

Each of the three provinces just mentioned possesses its separate local government. In those of Vizcaya and Guipuscoa, the orders of the king can be executed only after receiving the sanction of the provincial administration. Each, annually, summons its general assembly, to which the administration delivers an account of its application of the public money. This assembly is formed by the deputies from all the communes which have a right to send any. These deputations are chosen by *ayuntamientos,* or municipal corporations, the members of which are also annually elected by the whole body of qualified citizens. To possess this right of election, a certain degree of property is indispensable.

These principles of democratical and representative government, though by no means equal

to what many modern political writers conceive desirable, gave rise to the idea, during the invasion of Biscay by the French armies and the consequent negociations for peace, that the provinces in which such principles were entertained and acted upon, were adapted, by policy as well as situation, to form a constituent part of the French republic. This, however, was by no means the case. Jealous as the Biscayans are of their liberty, they are cordially attached to the Spanish monarchy, and though they would resist to the last extremity the yoke of a despotic prince, their political constitutions do not in the least unfit them for the government of a royal protector. They possess, indeed, a pride of nobility, if it may be so denominated, which could not easily reconcile itself to our principles of strict and rigorous equality. Partial to that exclusive possession which they now have of certain real or imaginary advantages, they would but little value a liberty which they must enjoy in common with twenty-six millions of fellow-citizens. In reference to their financial circumstances, they would have experienced still less inducement to the projected incorporation. The three provinces tax themselves for all the purposes of their own peculiar expence and advantage, and pay to the king no other impost than a

species of donative, which is but rarely demanded, and which, if it were not moderate, would certainly be withheld. This donative is levied by the states among the different communes, conformably to a ratio which frequently undergoes new modifications.

The three provinces of Biscay are not indebted to nature for any lavishing partiality, and may attribute to this circumstance their love of liberty, and that unwearied industry which is the cause of their prosperity: for, unless in situations where the influence of a genial soil and climate is counteracted by particular circumstances, the finest countries of the globe are inhabited by an indolent, effeminate, and slavish population.

The provinces of Vizcaya and Guipuscoa are deficient in the growth of grain. The province of Alava, however, is sufficiently fertile to supply with this article, not only these provinces, but a part also of Castile and Navarre. In the years 1790 and 1791 its exportation of this commodity to these districts, produced a profit of nearly a million and a half of French livres. This indeed, it must be admitted, is its staple resource; and it must also be observed, that Alava, though the largest, is the least peopled of the three provinces, and scarcely contains more than seventy thousand

inhabitants. The province of Señorio (which is one of the names of Vizcaya or Biscay, properly so called) comprizes about a hundred and sixteen thousand inhabitants, and that of Guipuscoa, within the compass of a spot six leagues in width, and seventeen in length, contains more than a hundred and twenty thousand. The whole coast of this last province is inhabited by fishermen and mariners, its inland territory by peaceable and industrious cultivators of the soil. Until the year 1793, when transient circumstances created an unfortunate animosity, the Guipuscoans lived in friendly intercourse with the French in their vicinity. They engaged indeed, particularly between the ports of Bayonne and St. Sebastian, in various commercial speculations, partly irregular and illicit, which were attended with mutual advantage, and which will be eagerly renewed on the return of peace.

The city of greatest consequence in all Biscay is Bilboa, though its inhabitants do not exceed the number of fourteen thousand. It has, however, lost much of its ancient opulence and industry. Its tanneries, formerly so celebrated, have fallen into decay, since the regulation of government forbidding Spanish American hides to be landed at Bilboa, and subjecting them to heavy duties on their convey-

ance to that port from any other in the Peninsula. Its establishments for grinding corn, which were likewise a source of great profit, are now abandoned. The commerce of Bilboa, therefore, is at present its sole dependence, which, however it must be allowed, is immense. Bilboa receives and exports every description of merchandize. The greatest part of the wool sent abroad by Spain is shipped at this port; as also a considerable quantity of iron and chesnuts, the chief produce of the soil of Biscay Proper, which, with regard to other articles, is nearly barren. For Bilboa likewise is consigned almost every commodity exported from the various countries of Europe for the use of the northern provinces of Spain. Its principal connections are with England, France, and America. It contains about two hundred commercial houses, among which are several Irish, some German, and seven or eight French.*

* Within eight or nine years, Bilboa has experienced a considerable alteration. Its commerce has not been so much injured by the war as there was reason to apprehend. The demand for Spanish wool has rather increased than diminished: and that portion of capital which could not be employed in commerce, has been applied to the erection and improvement of buildings, from which the city has derived no little embellishment.

Foreigners are not permitted, however, to rent houses in Bilboa. An austere and jealous spirit of liberty exercises in this place a species of tyranny which greatly impairs the interest felt by the philosopher, on contemplating the general principles and institutions of the Biscayan government. The province of Señorio maintains its imperfect, and in some instances chimerical privileges, against the monarch of Spain, with the most determined pertinacity, and will not, without the greatest hesitation, admit any persons born beyond its limits to enjoy them. It obliges even those whom it wishes to receive into its bosom to submit to the most harassing formalities and ceremonies; and the French particularly, before the last rupture between the two countries, were more strictly dealt with than other strangers. A foreigner, for instance, is not suffered to hire a house at Bilboa in his own name, but is obliged to borrow that of one of the inhabitants; and every man is considered by the Biscayans as a foreigner who was not born within the limits of their territory. If any foreigner or stranger, in this sense of the term, desires to be naturalized in Biscay, it is necessary for him, even should he be a Castilian, to prove what is called his *filiation; i. e.* to prove that he is the offspring of parents who were neither Jews nor heretics,

and who were not engaged in base or servile occupations; and, in the opinion of the *noble* Biscayans, the catalogue of these occupations is of no trifling length. To accomplish this object, commissioners are sent, at the expence of the petitioner, to the place of his birth, to inspect his papers and examine evidence, who find it for their interest to prolong an employment so easy and profitable. There are, unquestionably, several methods of evading, or at least of abridging these ceremonials; but should envy or malice operate against the candidate, they are sure to be attended with every possible rigour, and expence; and I am acquainted with more than one instance, in which a candidate has experienced the utmost severity. The right of citizenship, however, is in some parts more easily procured.

Bilboa is situated near the sea, on the right bank of a river, which, though its course is but short, is of sufficient depth for the reception of large merchantmen. This port is not the only one worthy of attention on the coast of Biscay. Those of Passage and St. Sebastian deserve likewise to be particularly mentioned.

From Bayonne to Bilboa there is no carriage road, and along the whole extent of this coast travelling by land is far from commodious.

From Hernani, however, the first considerable town met with on leaving Irun, an admirable road is constructed to St. Sebastian, over a series of mountains, from the summit of which the traveller has a full view of the latter place in his approach towards it. This small city is connected with the continent by a low and narrow neck of land. Its port, if that name can with propriety be applied to an artificial shelter afforded by a mole for fifteen or twenty merchant vessels, is commanded by an eminence, on which is an ancient castle in ruins. From various points of a sloping and spiral walk, which conducts to this castle, the smallness of the port is particularly striking. St. Sebastian is neatly and regularly built, and exhibits a scene of extraordinary activity. It is the capital of Guipuscoa, and the place of residence of its governor.

From St. Sebastian to Passage the distance is only one short league. To arrive there, the traveller must proceed along the shore, at the foot of mountains, encircling a capacious and immense bay, apparently surrounded on every side by land, and exhibiting, consequently, at the first view, the aspect of a vast lake, instead of a gulf of the ocean. This is the harbour of Passage, which must be crossed in order to reach the city which bears its name. At the

moment of embarkation, it is most interesting to observe a number of young Biscayans disputing, in their singular language, which the majority of Spaniards themselves do not understand, who shall obtain the honour of presiding at the helm during this momentous voyage, of about half a league only in extent. The city is built on a very confined spot between the mountains and the bay, and is commanded by a castle, which, from one side, furnishes a view of this immense basin, and on the other a prospect of the open sea.

This port of Passage, one of the largest, and perhaps the most secure in Europe, is of infinite importance to the prosperity of Biscay; and the demolition of it, which, if rumour may be credited, it was once in contemplation to demand from its inhabitants, would have been far more injurious to Spain than beneficial to France; and this observation applies equally to the port of St. Sebastian, and to that of Fontarabia, another small port at the mouth of the Bidassoa. Indeed I must take this opportunity to remark, that the ambition of conquest very frequently leads to erroneous calculations, while enlightened policy extends its views into futurity; possessions thus valuable to a neighbouring state are often of more value to ourselves, by being suffered to re-

main in its power, than they would be, were they to become ours by actual conquest; a mode of acquisition of which the insecurity becomes obvious, from numerous and striking examples. If of a neighbouring power we are at all desirous of creating an ally; by leaving him in the undisturbed enjoyment of his possessions, we obtain an additional pledge of his fidelity, while our conquest and appropriation of any of them may reasonably be expected to operate as a bar to cordial alliance and attachment. The cession of Gibraltar to the English at the peace of Utrecht, is, perhaps, the principal guarantee of the alliance between France and Spain; and if we may credit respectable authority, M. de Torcy considered the matter precisely in this point of view.

Continue, then, happy Biscayans, peaceably to enjoy those three ports, which are the grand sources of your prosperity, and let us unite our hopes that Frenchmen, again connected with you by the ties of cordial amity, will be employed only in assisting you to preserve them from invasion by a common enemy!

While travelling through the country which those Biscayans have fertilized, and as it were animated by their labours, even without the

co-operation of their Sovereign (who, in conformity to their views and wishes, divests himself of the title of *King*, and is content with that of *Seignior*), it is impossible not to feel a sentiment of respect and admiration. These three provinces are the asylum of industry and freedom, by which every object is influenced and improved throughout the whole extent of Biscay; its hills and valleys exhibit all the effects of unwearied and successful cultivation. For the space of thirty leagues from the Bidassoa to Vittoria, some new village or hamlet is incessantly presenting itself to the view of the delighted traveller. The towns of Villa-Franca, Villa-Real, and Mondragon, breathe an air of serenity and cheerfulness. How different the aspect of this country from that immediately adjacent! I have no wish to exhibit in a ludicrous point of view the inhabitants of Castile, for whose merits I have a high esteem; but they are as silent and dreary as their plains; their dark and austere countenances reflecting only the image of poverty and misery. In Biscay there is a different complexion, a different physiognomy, a different character; free, gay, and hospitable, its natives appear conscious of their happiness, and desirous that those

who are witnesses should also become partakers of it.

I shall not easily forget an adventure which, some years since, occurred to me at Villa-Franca. On reaching this place early in one of the fine evenings of autumn, in company with another traveller, we rambled amidst the scenery of its environs, admiring their verdant luxuriance and varied cultivation. Groupes of peasants, scattered through the orchards, attracted our attention, as we also awakened theirs. An impulse of curiosity natural to strangers, led us mutually to approach. My friend and myself spoke the Spanish language with tolerable fluency, and though we knew that there is no affinity between that and the language of the Biscayans, we could scarcely persuade ourselves how it was possible, that in a province so long subject to Spain, the language of the Sovereign should be totally unknown. This, however, being unfortunately the case, we were obliged to have recourse to the primitive language of looks and gestures, by which we soon made our new acquaintances understand that we had a desire to taste their fruits. They instantly and eagerly brought us some; our hands were filled, they wished also to fill our pockets; several ran to procure for us eggs and poultry; and it

was not without considerable difficulty that we could prevail upon them to admit our excuses for declining them; we regretted that our gestures were our only interpreters. It was necessary at length to separate. We had rambled at hazard, and were now unable to find our way back to the hotel; but no sooner did the Biscayan peasants perceive the cause of our embarrassment, than they stepped forward and offered to conduct us. Those who did not actually accompany us, followed us with their eyes for a considerable time. In ours they perceived astonishment at their assiduous hospitality; a sentiment which they evidently considered as unkind. We bestowed on them some tokens of our gratitude, which they received in such a manner as shewed that their attentions to us had been perfectly disinterested. We might, in short, have almost persuaded ourselves that we were quitting those islanders whom the interesting narratives of Cook and Bougainville have taught us so much to admire: yet we were only twenty leagues distant from Bayonne.

So different are the Biscayans from the inhabitants of Castile, that they appear to live under another government. In several respects, indeed, their country is considered as beyond the actual frontiers of Spain. With some few ex-

ceptions, all foreign produce is introduced into it duty free, and is inspected and taxed only when it reaches the inland frontier. Biscay has, besides, several privileges, which are defended with great jealousy, but which have latterly experienced more than one attack. The prohibition, for instance, of foreign tobacco and muslins has been extended to that country; so precarious indeed every where is the possession of liberty. In Biscay, however, they still preserve many of its forms. We have already intimated that their contribution for the service of government assumes the name and character of a free gift. If the King requires a certain number of men for his army or navy, this is communicated to the administration of Biscay, by whom the levies are raised in proportion to the ability of each commune. The royal authority exacts nothing imperiously, and is almost on every occasion obliged to compound with them. In more than one instance, Biscay has paid no attention to the commands of the court, nor to the supreme decisions of the council of Castile, when these decisions have been deemed incompatible with its ancient statutes. It possesses also peculiar tribunals of justice. In the province of Biscay, properly so called, there is an appeal from the sentence of the corregidor to a magis-

trate with the title of *Juez Mayor*, who is at the same time guardian of their privileges. This magistrate, however, is appointed by the King, and his only hope of attaining those superior distinctions to which he uniformly aspires, rests on his securing the favour of his Sovereign.

The Biscayans maintain what they call their freedom with an energy highly honourable to their character. The policy of the court with regard to them appears to result more from esteem and respect than from a fear of popular insurrection.* It must be admitted, however, that, with perhaps more archness and intrigue than generally attach to the character of freemen, they have now for more than a century found means to secure these favours of the court from their primitive source; they also constantly take care that some of their fellow-citizens, in consequence of their occupying situations in the army, navy, public offices, or occasionally in the ministry itself, shall be mediators and advocates for them before the throne. They shew themselves, how-

* In 1804 the establishment of a new land-tax in Biscay gave rise to disturbances, of a far less serious character than was represented in various publications, and which the court terminated by banishing from the province many of the landed proprietors, who were supposed to be principally concerned in them.

ever, notwithstanding this circumstance, worthy of freedom, and for its preservation have made more than one real sacrifice. Their aversion to custom-house duties they have on various occasions shewn to be absolutely insurmountable. In 1718 the Minister Patinho had nearly caused an insurrection by an endeavour to introduce this species of impost. In 1778, when the commerce of Spanish America was thrown open to many ports of the mother country, those of Biscay might have been admitted into the number, if the inhabitants would have submitted to the payment of customs; but collectors of revenue they have always considered as the satellites of despotism, and the benefits thus proposed to them by their Sovereign they declined, from a noble jealousy of their freedom. They cannot, therefore, freight vessels for America, unless they are fitted out in the ports of a different province; and thus that portion of the Spanish people best skilled in navigation, and most adapted for colonial commerce, is content to sacrifice one of its most important advantages, for the sake of preserving at least a remnant of its freedom. In the same manner, before the war which terminated in the independence of English America, the whole population of one of

the American states bound themselves by oath totally to abstain from the use of lamb as food, in order to promote that growth of wool which would supersede any necessity for the manufactures of the mother country.

The Biscayans, indeed, since the beginning of the present century, have possessed an advantage over the rest of Spain with respect to American commerce. The Caraccas, or as it is sometimes called, the Guipuscoa Company, kept its magazines in the port of Passage, and thence fitted out its expeditions: but during the last war with England, it experienced disasters which determined the government to relieve it from a burden which it found intolerably heavy, and to discharge the company from various expences attending its establishment, without excluding it from the commerce of the Caraccas.

Biscay, thus distinguished by its roads, its cultivation, and its political privileges, is still more distinguished by its industry, which is chiefly exercised on the principal produce of the country, iron. To complete the art of raising and working this metal, recourse is had to foreign correspondence, lectures, and travels. At Bergara, there is a patriotic school, where the science of metallurgy is taught by the most able masters, some of whom, as our

inestimable fellow-citizen Proust, have been invited for this purpose from neighbouring kingdoms. Young chemists have been sent to Sweden and Germany, and from the manufactories established in these states, and even from the bowels of a foreign soil, have drawn information which they have applied to the advantage of their country; a word which in Biscay is something more than an empty name. Its inhabitants, insulated by their situation, their language, and their political establishments, circumscribed within narrow bounds, and surrounded by their native mountains, are called both by nature and by policy to the cultivation of patriotism, and are faithful to the call. It is this sentiment which has produced the schools of Bergara, where the nobility of the country are educated at the expence of the state, and also those valuable associations which have operated as models for the numerous societies of a similar description, that during the last thirty years have appeared throughout the whole kingdom of Spain. From the same sentiment, in short, has very recently originated a new opening for the application of Biscayan industry, by the construction of the port of Deva, between St. Sebastian and Bilboa.

Having thus sketched the situation of Biscay in reference to freedom and political economy; I shall proceed to give an account of it merely as traveller.

CHAP. II.

Continuation of travels through Biscay. Particulars relating to Vittoria, Pancorro, and Burgos. The canal of Castile. Valladolid. The two cities of Medina. Excursion to the kingdom of Leon. Salamanca, Segovia, &c.

The first town after leaving Irun is Hernani, surrounded by mountains, separated from each other by narrow, but verdant valleys. It is watered by a small river, the course of which, on quitting Hernani, is followed for a considerable time. At Tolosa, (the place where the Bayonne stage stops on the first night of its journey to Madrid) this river is again perceivable, but is then lost sight of till the traveller reaches Mondragon. Within this space he passes and repasses it over a number of stone bridges, substantially built and elegantly ornamented; a species of luxury which, in all works connected with public utility, is highly gratifying to the Spaniard.

A few leagues from Tolosa, the road lies through the small city of Alegria, the birth-

place of many distinguished Spaniards, and, among others, of Mendizabal, so justly celebrated in the navy. Villa-Franca, where the mules are changed, is the next town, then Villa-Real, from which there is a long and steep descent on the side of a mountain to Anzuela, whence a fresh relay conducts to the little city of Mondragon. Two leagues before we arrived at this place, the road is divided into two branches, one of which leads to Madrid, while the other, in a direction to the right, extends to Durango, (whence it terminates) on the road to Bilboa. Beyond Durango, the road is impassable for carriages; and to go from Bayonne to Bilboa with convenience, the traveller must pass through Vittoria. But there is a very tolerable road directly from Madrid to Bilboa, through Orduna, where there is an establishment for collecting what may be called the inland customs of Biscay.

From Mondragon there are five long leagues to Vittoria, which, however, may be passed in less than four hours, though the steep and dangerous ascent of Salinas intervenes, in surmounting which so many accidents have at various times occurred. One of these, some years since, befel a carriage in which one of my friends was of the party, which merits a par-

ticular account, by which the reader will become acquainted with the manners of one class of people throughout Spain. There are few muleteers, carters, or coachmen, who, on mounting the box, or setting off on their journey, do not make the sign of the cross, or mutter some prayer, and who do not, indeed, carry with them some relics or scapularies. By these preliminary ejaculations, and these sacred charms, they consider themselves as secured from misfortune. The driver of the carriage in question had by no means been inattentive to those admirable precautions, which, however, were found ineffecutual. In climbing up the side of Idlinas, his mules deceived his vigilance, and drew the carriage over a precipice. The passengers, however, met with no other personal injury than what arose from a few bruises, and the muleteer himself experienced only a little temporary deformity of features. It might have been supposed that, in the slightness of this calamity, he might have perceived a signal proof of the protection of Providence, and of the angels or saints employed as its ministers; but this was far from being the case. While the passengers were rising and extricating themselves from their confinement, collecting their scattered property, and deploring the loss or damage which they had sustained, the muleteer, in a most unholy paroxysm of rage, snatched

his relics and scapularies from the place of their deposit, tore them in a thousand pieces, and trampling them under his feet, thundered out a litany of his own invention, *Al demones Santa-Barbara; a los diablos San-Francisco; al infiern Nuestra Señora del carmon, &c. &c.*; and, cursing the weakness or treachery of all the saints in succession, whether male or female, whose votary he had been, most energetically announced to them, that they had now lost his confidence for ever. Nothing less than this was sufficient to restore the coachman to tranquillity, or even to produce his usual gaiety.

After passing the town of Salinas, we ascended the mountains, and on re-descending, on the other side, we observed them gradually decreasing in elevation, becoming less frequent and receding from our view. Having at length entirely cleared them, we reached the city of Vittoria, the capital of the province of Alava. It is situated in the midst of a well-cultivated plain, abounding in villages. The greater part of this city is ill built and ill paved, but it presents indications of great industry and activity. Within the last few years, it has had the advantage of a large square, each side of which presents to the eye nineteen arcades; and, notwithstanding some defects which might be pointed out in this range of architecture, it would do honour to a far more considerable city

than Vittoria. The plan was designed by M. Olarvide, a native of the place, who, in consecrating his talents to the embellishment of the country in which they were produced and cherished, has exhibited a pleasing and valuable example for imitation.

Vittoria being the last city of Biscay, on the Castilian frontier, certain formalities are required there, which are often severe, and always disagreeable. Carriages and goods passing through this place to or from the province of Biscay, are here rigorously inspected; suspected letters are intercepted; letters in uncommon characters are decyphered; the couriers even of government are sometimes arrested, when they abuse their passport for the purpose of smuggling, especially in the exportation of coin, which of all crimes that can be committed against the revenue in Spain, is the most unpardonable. In 1792, I had no opportunity to perceive all these circumstances of rigour, though this was the period in which the animosity of Spain against every thing connected with the French revolution began to manifest itself in every possible manner. I fortunately, however, experienced the greatest politeness and civility in all my official transactions. M. d'Alava, who at that time acted as governor, undertook to permit my entrance into Castile, upon the mere exhibition of my passport, though a formal permission from the court was then re-

quisite to proceed beyond Vittoria. Agreeably to a recent law, the object of which is to encourage the manufacture of carriages in Spain, a tenth part of their value, estimated by a person skilled in appraising them, is demanded for all foreign carriages that enter the country, and this deposit is not returned till the carriage, of which a certified description is given to the traveller, repasses the frontiers. By the interposition of an agent, to whom I had a letter of address, and whose services I found of great value, I was exempted from this troublesome tax.

These were not the whole, nor the most endearing marks of attention I experienced from the amiable inhabitants of Vittoria. Some months afterwards, my family having arrived from the north of Germany, took up their residence among them, waiting until they made arrangements for joining me. One of my children was attacked with a very severe illness. They shared our anguish—they lavished upon the child all the treasures of the medical science—upon its mother, all the endearments of consolation: our gratitude for their excellent conduct is indelibly engraven upon our hearts. Accept of our homage, worthy inhabitants of Alava, whose atmosphere seems to be sacred to benevolence! Ye amiable women, mothers of families, who, in your kindness of heart, so often regretted that

you had no interpreter but a language unknown to those whom you sought to restore to hope and life; and you, Don Antonio, a surgeon whose sensibility equals your talents, who as it were adopted that infant with whose loss we were threatened, and for whose preservation we are indebted to you—Reader, I beseech you pardon this overflowing of a paternal heart!

A residence at Vittoria is not without its charms to those who view as blessings the tranquillity of the mind, the enjoyments afforded by simple nature, with cheap and abundant means of subsistence. The climate is temperate, although the vicinity of the mountains which bound its horizon, particularly towards the north, renders the winter severe. The plain which surrounds it produces every necessary of life, and particularly fruits and grain of an excellent quality. The dissipation and the frivolities of great cities are here unknown; but we may enjoy those innocent pleasures which are the delight of hearts as yet uninfected with the refinements of civilization; at stated periods of the year, they celebrate festivals in which the young men, the girls, and the married couples of the place are successively the prominent characters; ceremonies affecting from their simplicity, which at once prove the purity of their morals and guarantee them against contamination!

Upon leaving Vittoria, on the right we find

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the river of Arriaza, which i crossed by a stone bridge. We afterwards pass through the villages of Puella and Armiñon; after having cleared a mountain, we have before us a league of straight and good road, constructed like a causeway, which leads us to Miranda. Half way on this road a marble column appears, the inscription on which points out the limits between the provinces of Alava and Castile; a monument perhaps too pompous for the subject.

Miranda, a small town five leagues from Vittoria, is divided by the Ebro into two unequal parts. This river, which formerly served as the south boundary of the conquests of Charlemagne as well as of the French in 1795, is one of those objects which have been magnified by the magic of history, but do not keep pace with their reputation. It is true that at Miranda the Ebro is still very near its source at the foot of the mountains of Asturias; but the Ebro, which traverses from the north-west to the south-east the greatest part of northern Spain, has been to our days almost entirely unfit for navigation. We shall see in the course of this work what has been undertaken for rendering it useful to the provinces through which it passes.

At Miranda the Ebro is crossed by a very fine bridge. We have in front a small stony hill, surmounted by a ruinous castle which does not at all embellish the arid district. Soon afterwards

we perceive the high rocks of Pancorvo, grouped in a picturesque manner, and which have already exercised the pencil of more than one traveller. Two leagues further, at Mayago, is the entrance of the narrow and winding valley formed by these rocks; and half a league onward, at their feet, stands the village which bears their name. In a short space we meet with two others, Santa-Maria del Cubo and el Cubo, where the misery and laziness of Castile is shewn in all their deformity. We afterwards traverse vast plains tolerably well cultivated, until we reach Bribiesca, a small town surrounded with walls, having four gates placed symmetrically. The road leaves this place on the left.

In 1777 and 1785 I found Bribiesca gloomy and stripped of its verdure; worthy, in a word, of the parched Castile; in 1792, however, it seemed as if it had acquired some gardens and orchards. This was not the only change for the better I remarked on my journey.

The road from Irun to Bribiesca was always good. Almost every where it was adorned with trees, which, however, in general succeeded but badly, and on the sides were stone fences occurring by far too often. The road itself is also in some places too narrow. In forming it the inhabitants have been too sparing of their ground; they have less occasion for this in Spain than in France.

From Bribiesca to Burgos is six leagues, and

the road lies through the most parched and naked district in Europe; it passes through two of the most miserable villages in Spain, Monasterio and Quintana. Near the latter place is a very fine stone bridge.

Burgos, the capital of Old Castile, is agreeably situated upon the right bank of the Arlançon, at the foot of an eminence upon which an old castle displays its ruins. Formerly this city was remarkable for its riches, industry, and commerce; it now presents the perfect image of poverty, idleness, and depopulation. It does not contain more than 10,000 inhabitants. Its only branch of trade is now confined to the carriage of wool, which is sent off for embarkation in the north of Spain. Its manufactures, if we except that of leather, which is only of twenty years standing, scarcely deserve to be mentioned. It proves, as do many other cities in Spain, that the luxury of the church absorbs and keeps in a state of stagnation, riches which would be sufficient to ameliorate an entire district. The magnificence of the cathedral of Burgos forms a disgusting contrast with the rubbish which surrounds it. This imposing and well preserved edifice, is a *chef d'œuvre* of elegance in the Gothic style. One of its chapels contains a picture by Michael Angelo, representing the Virgin clothing the infant Jesus, who is standing erect upon a table. We recognise the air of nobleness and grandeur which this

painter knew how to give to his figures, with that vigour and correctness of design to which he sometimes sacrificed the graces.

The cathedral is almost opposite one of the three bridges which cross the Arlançon. On the other side this bridge in a suburb, is to be found a miraculous image, which is better known, and attracts more curiosity than the picture of Michael Angelo. It is preserved in an obscure chapel, crowded with *ex votis* and silver lamps. Strangers are introduced with a mysterious pomp, which has something imposing in it, even to people not superstitiously inclined. The venerable crucifix is concealed behind three curtains, which are drawn aside one after another with an affected slowness and solemnity, which still adds to the religious effect. The vulgar believe that the beard of the image still grows: devotees ascribe several miracles to it; but unprejudiced eyes see nothing extraordinary about it.

Burgos is the birth-place of two celebrated captains, whose fame is not confined to Spain, Ferdinand Gonzales and the *Cid Campeador*. In the time of Charles the fifth, a triumphal arch of very good taste was erected in memory of the former; and latterly Burgos has paid the same tribute to the Cid, by raising a monument upon the spot where his house is supposed to have stood. The Spaniards deserve admiration for the honor they do to the memory of their heroes, of whom

they speak with the same reverence that a ruined nation does of its ancient opulence; perhaps we may rather say of the Spaniards, that they mention their ancestors with that tone of ardor which proves, that the sentiment of what is grand and beautiful, although it may have disappeared for a long interval, is not yet extinguished among them, and that they only wait for occasion to celebrate its renovation.

The New Square of Burgos, surrounded by uniform houses, but small and paltry in their appearance, deserves to be mentioned, only because they have placed a pedestrian statue of Charles III. in bronze in the centre: it is badly designed, and worse executed. We should not remark it on this account, were it not almost the only monument of the kind in Spain. The Spaniards, devoted as they are in general to their Sovereigns, have been less prodigal of this kind of homage than most other nations.

If the interior of Burgos creates unpleasant ideas in the mind of the traveller, its environs at least are embellished and fertilized by the waters of the Arlançon. This river meanders through luxuriant meadows, and it has to boast of three very fine stone bridges within half a league of each other; it washes the walls of two remarkable edifices, situated lower down than the city: one of them is the monastry of *Las Huelgas*, a convent for ladies, whose abbess has

considerable privileges, and a jurisdiction resembling that of a petty sovereign; the other is the *Hospital del Rey,* remarkable for its neatness and the healthiness of its situation. The Spaniards may give lessons to the most polished nations by these monuments of charity. A cruel prejudice has not yet taught them to fear that the wretched will ever look with repugnance at an asylum opening its gates to alleviate their sufferings.

There is also near Burgos an edifice worthy of the curiosity of the traveller; it is the *Chartreuse de Miraflores,* where King John II. and his Queen have tombs erected to them, magnificent at least from their materials, and where there are some pictures remarkable for their gaudy colouring.

In the environs of Burgos there are plenty of trees as ornaments for its avenues and promenades; but there is a great scarcity of fuel in this country, which is besides one of the coldest in Spain; a scarcity severely felt in almost all the interior part of the kingdom. It began to attract the attention of government in 1753. An ordonnance of the Council of Castile enjoined each inhabitant of the country to plant five trees, but the execution of the order was intrusted to men without intelligence. It seemed as if surrounded by penal enactments, yet the object of the government was not obtained. In some places malice, in others prejudice, particularly throughout Old Castile, dictated an

insinuation that the trees attracted birds and other destroyers of grain; in many places improper attempts rendered the measure inefficacious; here trees which began to succeed were cut down by the passengers, while in other districts they were transplanted from a soil in which they flourished to another where they perished for want of care; almost every where the ordonnance was neglected. At length, towards the latter end of the reign of Charles III, recourse was had to the most efficacious of measures, that of example: the King himself, in the environs of Madrid and at his palaces; the Infanta Don Gabriel, in his grand priory of Malta; many grandees of Spain, and rich individuals, in what they call their estates; some patriotic societies, prelates, and even *Curés;* all were animated by that public spirit which enjoys by anticipation those benefits of which we lay the foundation without being able to profit by them ourselves; all exclaimed, like the old man in La Fontaine: "*Our great-grand-children will be indebted to us for this shade.*" They proceeded to rear plantations upon a better scale, out of the reach of the devastations of passengers, and particularly of animals; and already do a few orchards and clumps of trees interrupt the monotony of the horizon, enlivening with a little verdure the parched and naked soil of La Mancha and the two Castiles.

The Arlançon is once more met with, after

leaving Burgos, nor is it lost sight of until we come to Villadrigo, a miserable village, although agreeably situated upon the right bank, at the bottom of a vast plain, upon which some wretched vineyards are scattered. We afterwards arrive at the Pisuerga, another small river which flows from north to south, the waters of which were meant to be incorporated with the canal of Castile, projected and commenced under Ferdinand VI, and afterwards almost entirely abandoned, to the great prejudice of Old Castile, to which it was of importance, for the carriage and increase of its produce. It was to have commenced at Segovia, coasted along the Eresma, which flows into the Douro, and then northwards towards Reynosa, receiving the waters of the rivulets upon its route. It is only 20 leagues from Reynosa to the port of Saint-Andero. A fine road was made here, which would have facilitated the improvements intended for Old Castile, but which will be in ruins ere the canal be finished. In 1792 the grand road upon which I travelled from Irun terminated at the village of Estepar; it has since been carried several leagues beyond Valladolid.

On the banks of the Pisuerga, and after having passed two rugged mountains, the bases of which are washed by this river, we find Quintana de la Puente, near a stone bridge with 18 arches; afterwards Torquemada, one of the dirtiest and

most miserable places in Spain; at the entrance into which we again pass the Pisuerga upon another bridge of 26 arches, very solid, and recently in a great measure rebuilt; we then see the village of Magaz, near which the Arlanza joins the Arlançon; a little further on, at the approach of the Dueñas, these two rivers are united to the Pisuerga, and then to the Carrion. It is the junction of these four rivers which, under the continued name of Pisuerga, skirts Valladolid, before falling into the Douro or Duero. Were it not for the banks of the Pisuerga, marked here and there by clumps of trees, there would be few landscapes more dismal or more monotonous than the route between Villadrigo and Dueñas. Before we ascend the eminence upon which this last town is situated, we remark on the left a large convent of Benedictines, called San Isidro, in front of which is a new road begun in 1784 by the intendant of Palencia, and one of the best perhaps in Europe.

This road, undertaken when the project was scarcely entered upon of rendering the grand route of France practicable, was constructed at the expence of the neighbouring communes, and may serve as a model to other countries. It proves, as M. Turgot had formerly done in Limousin, that an intendant may, in some circumstances, be extremely useful. I shall add

that it also proves, perhaps, that a superintendant, continued for some time in office, is better able than any temporary administrator, however well chosen, to carry into execution plans of a certain extent, and to bring into action that activity, and that desire of approbation, which alone can secure success, and even to exercise that economy which will admit of multiplying useful enterprizes.

Palencia is indebted for other embellishments, and for other ameliorations, to the cares of the intendant of the province, aided by the chapter of the diocese. Situated in the centre of a country renowned for its fertility (la Tierra de Campos), like many other provinces, it has greatly fallen from its ancient splendor, and is now only remarkable by the dirtiness of its streets, the magnificence of its cathedral, and its manufactures of woollen coverlets, flannels and serges, which are in full activity.

Dueñas, which is only two leagues from Palencia, although agreeably situated, is nevertheless one of the most remarkable places in this route for its dirty and gloomy appearance. Some years ago it could boast of an inn which travellers delighted to cite as an exception from the general rule: that which the diligence stops at is, on the contrary, one of the most inconvenient in Spain. Dueñas, however, is not without some appearance of industry. Besides other articles, they manu-

facture here a species of wine tuns, which are the only casks used in the country.

After having descended the hills of Dueñas, we traverse the most naked and uninteresting country in the world, until we come within sight of Valladolid. The steeples of this city are discovered on leaving Cabezon, and its large stone bridge. On this side Valladolid appears to advantage, having an avenue of approach half a league in length, which has cross walks, and serves as a promenade.

In 1777, the first time I saw this city, I was disgusted with the filthiness which every where appeared, by which all the senses were in turn attacked. Eight years afterwards I was less so, and in 1792 I found Valladolid, not only much cleaner, but greatly embellished. They have lately formed some agreeable plantations along the Pisuerga, upon the square called the *Campo Grande*, situated at one of the extremities of this city, remarkable for its immense size, and the thirteen churches which may be reckoned within its walls.

Valladolid has another very regular square, with three rows of balconies, where it is asserted that 24,000 persons may be seated. I judged of its capaciousness when, travelling for the first time in Spain, I arrived at Valladolid precisely at the moment when they were celebrating a bull fight, an event which occurs only

once in three years. An amateur could not have been more fortunate. I was struck with the prodigious concourse of the curious which this *fête* attracted from several leagues around. The celebrated *Torreador Pepehillo,* whom I afterwards met with so often, had been sent for on purpose from Madrid. He did homage to the ambassador whom I accompanied by immolating several bulls, a respect commonly paid to persons of quality; each of these bloody tributes was a signal for several pieces of gold being thrown from the box of the corregidor in which we were seated upon the theatre of *Pepehillo's* exploits; he had certainly no need of this encouragement, for I never saw him more adroit or more fortunate.* Every thing in this scene, which lasted nearly three hours, the spectacle, the kind of reception we experienced, the dress, the manners, and the language, all was new to us. At the end of the *fête,* the lodge of the corregidor was transformed into a hall *de refresco.* Glasses of water, chocolate, and sweetmeats of all sorts and colours were handed about; we were at a loss how to avoid the obliging importunities with which we were overwhelmed; and gestures rather than language expressed our gratitude.

* He perished, however, in 1802, having been literally torn in pieces by a bull which was destined to fall a victim to his dexterity.

This exhibition gave us a strong idea of the affability of the Castilians, and of their taste for delicacies.

Valladolid, among other remarkable churches, has that of the Dominicans, and of Saint Benedict, which have to boast of the kind of beauty peculiar to almost all the sacred edifices in Spain; that is to say, they are spacious, and filled with altars surcharged with decorations and gilding; they besides contain some tombs of white marble, sculptured with admirable care. The works of sculpture, whether in wood or marble, in groups or in bas-relief, may be referred to the era of the restoration of the arts in Spain, an age which produced Juan de Juni, Berraguete, Becerro, and other artists little known beyond the Peninsula, but who would have done honour to more enlightened times. The new cathedral of Valladolid is described by the Abbé Pons as a splendid monument. I saw nothing in it but a mass of brown dirty-coloured stones, a doric order of the worst kind, which reigns in pilasters around the nave, a high wall which forms the back of the choir, and conceals from those who enter it the view of the rest of the church. The good Abbé, who travelled in the character of an amateur artist, frequently lavishes eulogium and criticism upon objects undeserving of both.

Valladolid is one of the most considerable cities in Spain; it is the residence of a bishop, the seat

of an university, of a patriotic society, of one of the seven great colleges of the kingdom, and of one of the supreme tribunals which are called *Cancilleria*; and notwithstanding this it does not contain more than 20,000 inhabitants. In the time of Charles the Fifth they amounted to 100,000. There were to be found in it all the necessaries of life, besides an active industry and commerce; but indolence, and the enormous multiplication of priests and monks have made all these advantages disappear. The court which was sometimes fixed there, having been finally established at Madrid under the reign of Phillip III, carried in its train all the opulent families. On every side were to be seen houses abandoned by their inhabitants, and mouldering into ruins: nothing now remains of its former opulence but a prodigious number of sacred edifices. Out of the town, in spite of the fertility of a country adapted for every kind of culture, and abounding in rivers, all is nakedness and misery: within the city, the same baneful want of industry is observable. The only manufactures which have an appearance of success, are those of woollen cloths. The goldsmiths and jewellers have acquired renown, and they deserved it; there are still a great number of them in one of the most frequented places of the city, but these are not above mediocrity.

It has been attempted within these few years

to rouse Valladolid from the state of lethargy into which it has fallen. A school for drawing, and an academy of mathematics were established; several of the streets were improved by the establishment of a police; its environs by promenades and by plantations of chesnut trees. On coming out of *Campo Grande* where new alleys have been lately planted, there are two leagues of excellent road towards Madrid, and eight towards Palencia, through a naked country; for the scarcity of wood which forced Philip III to abandon Valladolid, has even increased since his time.

The admirers of the fine arts go a league out of this city to the convent of Fuensaldagne to see three pictures by Rubens, which may be compared on account of the freshness of their colours with any thing he ever produced. Simancas, which is still the principal depot of the archives of the mouarchy, is only two leagues from Valladolid.

Madder is successfully cultivated in a part of its environs, as well as in the provinces of Burgos and of Segovia, in the Asturias, Andalusia, Arragon and Catalonia. This plant, which is well known to be peculiarly adapted to the climate of Spain, did not attract the attention of government until 1742. Its culture, in which considerable progress has been already made, produces to Spain a saving of ten millions of reals, which she for-

merly paid to the Dutch. The madder of Spain is better and cheaper than that of any other country. Foreigners begin to appreciate its value; and even during the American war the English brought it from *Medina del Campo*, and from *Ciudad Rodrigo*, by the ports of Portugal. This new branch of industry is so much the more valuable, as the indigo manufactures are daily increasing in several parts of Spain: and in order to encourage the cultivation of madder in the year 1782, a tax of forty-two reals on each quintal of foreign madder was imposed.

That part of Castile which lies on the right in going from Burgos to Segovia, is a deserted country, and rarely visited by the modern traveller; it contains, however, two cities which deserve a particular mention, were it only for the sake of contrasting their present state with their past prosperity.

Medina de Rio Seco, formerly celebrated by its manufactures, is reduced from a population of about thirty thousand souls to fourteen hundred houses. Its fairs were such a source of opulence, that the Spaniards surnamed it *Indian Chica*, the Little Indies. Nothing now remains but the ruins of its castle, which was strongly, but unsuccessfully, besieged by Henri de Transtamare, in his war against the king, Don Pedro.

A more poignant subject of regret is to be found in another city of the same name, Medina del Campo. Formerly the residence of several monarchs, the theatre of great events, and of very extensive commerce, peopled with sixty or seventy thousand souls, it cannot now boast of above a thousand houses. Its celebrated fairs, its commerce in bills of exchange, its great depôt for the cloths of Segovia, the beauty of its edifices, the neatness of its streets; all these have ceased to exist, except in the annals of history. That which the ravages of accumulated ages, joined to the calamities of those long and terrible wars which overturn whole empires, has scarcely produced upon ancient cities which have enjoyed some renown; two centuries of idleness and of bad administration have effected upon Medina del Campo, and some other cities in Spain. Time seems to have flown with tenfold rapidity over them; and from the depth of the tomb, in which they are as it were swallowed up, we almost believe their splendor to have been contemporary with that of Persepolis and Palmyra. An example, unique perhaps in the history of Europe!—a subject worthy the profound cogitations of her philosophers.

Next to the churches, which the opulent and the slothful so largely contribute to keep in repair, the finest edifice of Medina del Campo is the Shambles. Philip the Third, whose extrava-

gant enterprises contributed so much to the degeneration of Spain, has left this city at least a monument of his good will.

The two Medinas bring us in contact with the kingdom of Leon, of which we shall say a few words before resuming the route to Segovia.

This country is one of the most parched and desert belonging to Spain. Upon the road from Palencia to Leon, its capital, we meet with the canal of Campos, commenced under the administration of Ensenada, and destined to reanimate Castile and the kingdom of Leon; as yet there are but twelve leagues completed, and that in two separate places of six leagues each in extent. It was intended to flow into the Douro by Palencia and Dueñas; but it was interrupted for a long time, resumed by the minister Florida Blanca, and once more abandoned for enterprises of more magnitude indeed, but perhaps less useful. It is not by such oscillations in national improvements that the regeneration of an empire is effected.

Leon, a city pleasantly situated, important also when the kingdom bearing its name was united to the crown of Castile, has not a population exceeding fifteen hundred inhabitants, for which there are thirteen churches and nine convents. Its environs are fertile, however, and embellished with plantations. It has some cloth manufactories, which have not full employment

throughout the year, and even of these a part has lately fallen into decay.

Salamanca, the second city in the kingdom of Leon, deserves more particularly to be mentioned. Attracted by the reputation of this city, so famous in romances, and in the history of Spanish literature, I visited it during my first residence in Spain. The court was then at St. Ildefonso, a distance of twenty-seven leagues from Salamanca.

Although the Spaniards themselves, and particularly the Abbé Pons, complain of the depopulation of this part of Spain, I did not perceive it in my journey. I remarked, for instance, that in the environs of Arevalo we could discover twelve villages from one point of view. All this district, although naked and poor, is yet fertile, and even well cultivated, because the estates and farms are not so extensive here as in several other provinces of Spain.

After having passed Segovia, of which we shall presently speak, I arrived at Santa Maria de Nieva, a village of six hundred houses, possessing the singular privilege of having a bull fight every year, which attracts all the amateurs in its vicinity.

From the eminence on which it is placed we discover a fine country, if we can say so much of a vast district which has neither running waters, verdure, nor country houses; and which

only presents the dismally uniform aspect of immense fields of wheat.

After passing a fir wood, the country again becomes naked and perfectly uniform. In spite of its aridity, it is extremely well cultivated to the gates of Arevalo, a town which must have been formerly a very considerable city. Its massive gate leads to a bridge, the solidity of which may brave the ravages of torrents, and almost those of time. This double monument does not seem undeserving of one of those pompous inscriptions of which the Spaniards are so lavish. It informs the traveller, that the communes for thirty leagues around contributed towards its erection. In the interior of Arevalo is seen, with a surprise mixed with disgust, remains of antique columns, upon which miserable barracks and half rotten balconies are supported. The clergy alone preserve their riches in the midst of the poverty which surrounds them.

From Arevalo to Peñaranda, the country abounds with fertile and well cultivated plains. Their inhabitants, however, are not the less free from indigence: reduced, like the greater part of the population in the interior of Spain, to the enjoyments of pure necessity, they disdain those of convenience. Deprived of all communication with strangers, and of objects of comparison, they seem to have neither the desire nor the knowledge of the comforts of life. It never

occurs to them to ornament their estates. A garden of potherbs is to them an object of luxury, which their parsimony denies. Indolence subjects them to privations, and habituation to privations encourages indolence in its turn; and in this state they must remain until roads, bridges, canals, and the more easy means of carriage, have made them acquainted with the advantages of commerce. Travellers, who judge of the Spaniards from such specimens as these, ought to be excused for treating them a litte harshly.

We are reconciled to this country on entering Peñaranda, a pretty little town, consisting of about one thousand houses. It contains also some architectural ruins, which prove that it was formerly more considerable.

Its inhabitants have great confidence in a miraculous image of the Virgin. Without its assistance they are convinced they must frequently have fallen into serious misfortunes. Happy illusions, which modern philosophy has the cruelty to turn into ridicule, and which it is, perhaps, necessary to keep up for the consolation of the poor, even where vigilant and enlightened authority retains the means of suppressing the abuses of superstition! These illusions are certainly innocent; they are even valuable, had they no other effect than that of nourishing in the breast of the unfortunate, sentiments of patience or of hope!—the inhabitants of Peñaranda, like those of most of the

Spanish provinces, seemed to me to stand in need of these two resources. They are loaded with taxes: they gain with much toil the little they possess, and their distress stifles their industry. Their landlords, who are sometimes even ignorant of the geographical situation of their estates, by abandoning the management of them to stewards, treasurers, and alcaldes, not unfrequently draw upon themselves the execration of those beings, who perhaps would bless them if they saw their real superiors residing among them.

I shall not quit Peñaranda without saying that its inn is perhaps the neatest and the most commodious I have seen in Spain. Contrary to the usage of the country I found the landlord complaisant, and he was willing to furnish me with some provisions.

I afterwards traversed a district where they assured me there were herds of cows, the male calves of which were destitute of horns. The fact at that time appeared absurd. I began to believe it, however, when I learnt that in our own days Dr. Johnson, in returning from the Hebrides, found some oxen without horns, near Auchinleck in Scotland. I have also learnt that there are whole breeds of them in Norway between Christiana and Frederickshall; that they also exist in England; and I even saw in a field near Altona, a bull of one of these breeds, which assuredly did not seem to have been of a degene-

rated breed, as some travellers suppose, who have met with similar animals.* We may even presume that the ancients were aware of this singularity, since Tacitus says, in speaking of the Germans: *Ne armentis quidem suus honos aut gloria frontis.*

Whatever may be the truth respecting the existence of these animals without horns near Peñaranda, I learned that the labourers there had at least some means of acquiring competence; I found that the greatest part of the cows were farmed out to them upon the simple condition of giving the proprietor the fourth or thereabouts of the crop, taking the whole expence of cultivation upon themselves. It is consolatory to meet with this valuable class of men sometimes, profiting by the disinterestedness, if not by the carelessness of their landlords; but these examples are as rare in Spain as in any other country.

From Peñaranda, after having passed Ventosa, a miserable village upon an eminence, I arrived at the town of Huerta, where I observed for the first time, a custom which is in many respects worthy of imitation. I found affixed to the door of the inn a placard, in which the Alcalde prescribes to

* In the spring of 1800, I found near Altona, several descendants of this bull provided with horns, although their progenitor never had any; a phenomonen which is certainly not new.

the hostess the manner in which she is to treat strangers, with the price she may charge for their lodging, entertainment of their cattle, &c. Thus far there is nothing unreasonable; but the foresight of the placard proceeds to forbid the landlady to "*keep pigs or poultry, to allow any forbidden games to be played, and to receive armed men and women of a loose description.*" From such restrictions as these, which without benefiting morality destroy every comfort and convenience, Spain will long have to regret the want of good inns; while those of a contrary description must banish the distinguished traveller, however, in other respects, the country may be inviting.

On leaving Huerta, the towers of Salamanca are distinctly seen. At a certain distance, the position of this city upon the banks of the Tormès, is very picturesque; and if the country was less naked, it would resemble that around Tours. For one half of the road I traversed one of these waste pasturages, known by the name of *Valdios*, which are but too common in Spain, but not covered with that brilliant verdure which forms the finest ornaments of the fields. A large herd of bulls, all horned, were feeding in this meadow. I was then in one of the districts which supply the *arenæ* of Valladolid and Madrid. After having frequently witnessed their bloody conflicts, it was not without emotion I saw myself

surrounded by these courageous animals; but they were at liberty; they were not provoked, and they seemed to have laid aside their cruel ferocity. Nature has formed but very few of her creatures to be wicked. Some become so, when they have received her commands to feed or to defend themselves. Do men always wait for these powerful motives, ere they delight in seeing the agonies of an irritated bull, or the fury of the tiger?

On entering Salamanca, dirty, narrow, and ill-peopled streets would bespeak it to be one of the most gloomy cities of Europe; and it will easily be believed that its population, formerly numerous, is reduced to two thousand eight hundred houses; but we are greatly surprised upon arriving at its modern square, equally remarkable for the neatness and regularity of its architecture. It is adorned with three rows of balconies, which follow each other without interruption. Ninety arcades form its foot-pavement. In the intervals between the arches are placed medallions of the most illustrious persons Spain has to boast of. On one side is to be seen all the kings of Castile, up to the reign of Charles III.; on the other, those of the best known Spanish heroes, as Bernard del Carpio Gonsalvo de Cordova, and Ferdinand Cortez. The niches on the eastern side are still empty. Will these be soon filled?

The cathedral of Salamanca, although con-

temporary with the age of Leo X., is in bad taste; the boldness of its nave, however, and the finish of its Gothic ornaments, make it one of the most remarkable edifices in Spain. When we know that Salamanca, besides this cathedral, has twenty-seven parish churches, twenty-five convents for men, and fourteen for ladies, we need not be astonished at its poverty or depopulation.

Until the reign of Philip the Third the reputation of the university attracted students, not only from all parts of Spain and Portugal, but also from France, Italy, England, and Spanish America. This celebrity has a little declined, although, according to the last form which was given to it by the Council of Castile, the university of Salamanca has still sixty-one professorships, and a college for the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin languages; and although it has to boast of some eminent professors, who are occupied in pursuing, into its most mystical labyrinths, the pretended philosophy of Aristotle.

Another establishment, more modern than the university of Salamanca, and more celebrated in our days, is that of the Great Colleges, or *Colegios Mayores.* There are in Spain seven houses of education which bear this name, and Salamanca alone contains four of them.

These edifices are at least astonishing from their mass. The most ancient, that of St. Bartholo-

mew, has been recently rebuilt; its façade and principal court deserve the attention of the connoisseur.

It contains a rich library of manuscripts. Several eminent scholars have issued from it; such as Alphonso Tostado,* whose immense erudition and prodigious fertility of genius, still serve as a proverb among the modern Spaniards.

In the midst of the crowd of sacred edifices which Salamanca contains, I was recommended to visit the church of the Dominicans, the façade of the Augustins, and the church of San Marcos.

In the first I remarked a Gothic façade, wrought with much care, a vast nave, and chapels richly decorated; but I sought in vain for the beautiful pictures which had been so highly extolled. The roof of the choir is painted in fresco by Palomino, who, in writing the lives of the Spanish painters, has given lectures on the fine arts. It appears that, at Salamanca at least, he has not added example to precept.

Instead of chef-d'œuvres in painting, I was shewn an immense magazine of relics. They pathetically invited me to touch them with my rosary, but I was not provided with this characteristic of Spanish catholicism. It was necessary to make up for the want of it, however, by at

* When it is intended to give an idea of the fertility of a writer, they say in Spanish, *Ha escrito mas que el Tostado*: "He has written more than Tostado."

least paying the tribute of respect, of which an example was given me by all present, and which it would have been, perhaps, dangerous to refuse: I mean bending the knee before these venerated objects.

I shall not enumerate all the sacred treasures which were passed in review before me. I cannot omit mentioning, however, the Bible of the famous anti-pope Benedict XIII., who was born in Spain, and deposed by the Council of Constance. "I beseech you," said our conductor, "do not confound him with a pope of the same name, who belonged to the order of the Dominicans, and who was the true pope." Thus it is with all countries and conditions: like Moliere, they say: *Vous êtes Orfevre. M. Josse.*

I saw nothing remarkable in the gate of the Augustins, but the ornaments with which it is loaded. It faces a castle or palace of the Duke of Alva, part of whose estates is situated in the neighbourhood of Salamanca. These *estates* and *castles* seem to feel the continual absence of their lords; a reflection which a tour in Spain will suggest at every step. While the opulent proprietors do not enliven their domains, at least by their occasional presence, the patriotic societies, the establishment of manufactures, the encouragements to draining, and a thousand other salutary measures will only be vain palliatives of the evils which have been for

two centuries undermining the Spanish monarchy. It is, perhaps, one of the inconveniences of a monarchical form of government, when the sovereign has more vain-glory than true wisdom. He draws around him, by lavishing his favours, all those who can add to the splendor of his throne, or who might endanger his security by the exercise of their power, or the display of their luxury, at a distance from the court. His vanity prompts him to wish that they should only shine for him, and through him. His jealousy trembles lest they should exhibit their splendor out of the royal presence. Such was the system of Richelieu. Such has been that of the kings of Spain since the days of Charles the fifth. They have gained the stability of their own power at the expence of the prosperity of their country.

The third church, of which so much has been said, is the old college of the Jesuits, now given to a fraternity of regular canons, under the name of the church of *San Marcos*. It has nothing remarkable, except a magnificent portico of the Corinthian order. The old seminary of the Jesuits was devoted, in 1778, to the education of thirty young ecclesiastics. The ceremony of their admission has been represented in a fine picture by Bayeux, one of the most eminent pupils of Mengs.

Before quitting Salamanca, an ancient Roman bridge of twenty-seven arches is worthy of inspec-

tion, over which, at an outlet of the city, the traveller must pass the small river Tormès.

Seven or eight leagues to the northward of Salamanca, and upon the right bank of the Douro, is Zamora, which, although situated in the old kingdom of Leon, has been for a long time the seat of the military government of old Castile; it is not however the more opulent on that account.

Fifteen or eighteen leagues to the south-east of Salamanca, and not far from the Douro, is a walled town, formerly flourishing, situated in a country adapted to every kind of culture, but at present poor, depopulated, and without industry. Roads almost impassable on every side, vestiges of many destroyed villages, the worst inns in Spain, are objects the traveller must expect on approaching Ciudad-Rodrigo.

I presume I have now said enough upon the ancient kingdom of Leon, to prevent any person from undertaking a journey to it. Let us return to the route from Burgos to Segovia.

Eight leagues of a sandy waste separate Valladolid from Oviedo. In this route there is no verdure, except a dismal forest of pines and some brushwood. Half way we pass through Valdestillas, a town with two hundred inhabitants. I lodged there, in 1792, with a farmer, whose vanity and consequence would have made him an excellent character in a comedy. His nobility, he

told me, was incontestible. He shewed me the proof contained in a kind of brevêt, which his grandfather, transplanted from Biscay into this place, had obtained from the chancery of Valladolid; for these tribunals have, among other functions, the right of pronouncing upon the validity of titles of nobility, and to expedite in consequence a certificate, which is called *executoria*. There is even in each of them a chamber allotted solely to this description of business, and which for that reason is called *sala de hijos dalgo* (literally, "son of something"); an expression corrupted into *hidalgo*, which in Spanish is equivalent to *noble*. My *illustrious* host did not omit to tell me that there were at Valdestillas, twenty inhabitants, *hidalgos* like himself, but who *had not their papers so well in order*. He did not scruple, however, to entertain me with an account of the revenues of *his master's* estate, which, like many others in the same neighbourhood produced wine in abundance. A *nobleman*, who owns any other *master* than the King! it is so, however, in Spain, as well in other countries; vanity reconciles itself extremely well with meanness. No other circumstance than the above could have induced me to mention the name of Valdestillas.

Olmedo is situated upon an eminence, in the midst of a boundless plain, except towards the north, where some scattered hills appear. This place formerly strong, has still a thick wall

for about three quarters of a league in extent. Its interior announces a ruined city, destitute of population and of industry, and exhibiting symptoms of degradation and misery. Seven churches and seven convents, some brick-kilns, some kitchen-gardens under the shade of the old walls, compose the whole fortune of the inhabitants.

From Olmedo there is a road to Madrid or to Segovia, according as we turn to the right or to the left. In the former case, after having passed through seven or eight miserable villages, we halt at Sanchidrian, one of the stations of the diligences, where, in 1792, I found a very decent inn. The road, which was always bad until we reach Sanchidrian, is afterwards in excellent order all the way to Madrid, that is to say, for the space of fifteen leagues. But until we arrive at Guadarrama, it runs through one of the most savage countries in Europe, being the rocky district separating Old and New Castile. In this gloomy journey, before clearing the most uncouth part of these enormous mountains, we stop a short time in a new hotel, called the *Diversorio de San Rafael.* A little farther on is the village of Villacastin, where the country begins to grow more sterile and rocky. Upon attaining the summit of the hills we discover the vast plains of New Castile. Soon afterwards we meet with an office where travellers pay a toll for keep-

ing up the road. We afterwards descend a long hill, which conducts to the town of Guadarrama.

We are then little more than seven leagues from Madrid, and perceive on the right, two leagues forward, the celebrated convent of the Escurial. The castle of St. Ildefonso is seven leagues from this. It is situated at the foot, and on the other side of the chain of mountains we have quitted, which are prolonged by sinuosities on the left. There is nothing else about Guadarrama that announces it to be near the capital, and two of the residences of the kings of Spain. To see the distribution and the nakedness of its inns, one would say, that Spain is only frequented by pilgrims and muleteers. But before entering upon this city, we shall resume the route of Segovia, which we quitted at Olmedo.

Eleven leagues separate these two places. This district is, perhaps, the poorest and the most depopulated of any in Spain. We pass through several large towns, however; such as San Giuste, and Santa Maria de Nieva, which have been mentioned already. We perceive at a distance the towers of the castle of Segovia, and the steeples of the cathedral (See plate I.). The patience of the traveller is nearly exhausted before he arrives at the spot. How many windings before he reaches the square of Segovia! On approaching he sees, on the right, an old castle, at the summit of a rugged precipice. On the

left he plunges into a valley, which a rivulet waters, and clothes with verdure. For the sake of some picturesque points of view, he forgives the parched and naked country he has traversed, and which he meets with again on leaving Segovia.

This city, formerly celebrated by more than one title, is still worthy of the traveller's attention, in spite of its dirtiness and want of population. Its principal edifices are the cathedral and the castle, or *Alcazar*.

The cathedral exhibits a mixture of the Gothic and Arabic style; the interior is vast, and of majestic simplicity; the great altar, recently rebuilt, is decorated with the finest Grenada marbles.

The Alcazar, formerly inhabited by the Gothic kings, is an edifice in good preservation. Charles III. established a military school here for artillery officers; they receive a very good education under the inspection of the director-general of the artillery.

The Alcazar was long used as a prison for the Barbary corsairs who fell into the hands of the Spaniards. No person could see without compassion these robust Mussulmen condemned to a state of idleness, more painful to them than their captivity; they were occupied in sedentary employments, unworthy of men destined for other purposes; never, however, were they treat-

ed with rigour. About twenty-five years ago the court of Spain restored them to their country, having concluded an alliance with the Emperor of Morocco.

Segovia contains nothing else worthy of notice except its aqueduct.

This city is built upon two hills, and in the valley which separates them, a situation by which a great part of the inhabitants are deprived of water. With this useful article they were supplied at a very distant period (said by the learned to have been in the reign of Trajan) by an aqueduct, which is still one of the most astonishing and best preserved Roman antiquities (See Plate II.). Upon a level at its origin with the rivulet which it receives, and supported at first by a single stage of arcades, which are only three feet high, it proceeds to the summit of the hill, at the other extremity of the city, and gradually rises in height in proportion as the ground sinks over which it runs; in its highest parts we think we perceive a bridge thrown across an abyss; it has two branches which form an obtuse angle relatively to the city. At the commencement of this angle the aqueduct becomes truly grand; its two rows of arcades rise majestically above each other, and the spectator is terrified on comparing their diminutive base with their height. The solidity of the aqueduct, which has braved the effects of more than sixteen centuries, seems in-

explicable, when the simplicity of its construction is more closely observed; it is built of square stones resting upon each other, without external appearance of mortar, either from having in reality been united without it, and solely by the art with which the stones are shaped and placed, or from the cement having mouldered away through the effects of time. We are shocked with the appearance of miserable houses fixed against the pillars of the arcades, seeking in these proud ruins a support for their own weakness, and repaying the obligation by degrading the monument which supports them; they are scarcely raised however to one third of its height, and serve at least to exhibit to still greater advantage the grandeur and nobleness of its forms. A small convent has had the presumption to exhibit some pitiful architecture at the angle formed by its two branches: but in what country do we not meet with similar profanations? Frenchmen, ye who revolt at such scenes, it is not long since you were guilty of similar outrages against the amphitheatre of Nismes!

The inhabitants near whose mansions this bounteous aqueduct passes, lay it under contribution on paying a certain tax. It was of great benefit to the houses, formerly more numerous than at present, when it was used for washing and dyeing the woollens of Segovia, the most valuable in Spain, as will be seen from the following chapter.

CHAPTER III.

Wool of Spain. Attempts to naturalize it in France. Details respecting the Mesta. Exportation of Spanish wool. Manufactories at Guadalaxara and Segovia. Journies of the Sheep. Sheep-shearing. Washing of the wool.

The best wool in Spain is that furnished by the country round Segovia, by the district of Buytrago, seven or eight leagues to the eastward; by Pedraza, to the northward of Segovia; and by the lands towards the Douro. The connections which I formed,* as well with the people of

* Among those whose names I ought not to omit is M. Le Blanc, an eminent farmer at Mareuil-le-Port, near Epernay, lately deceased, to whose care were entrusted forty-five sheep, sent from Spain to Rambouillet, and who was zealously occupied in the breeding of animals for the sake of their wool; M. de Cramayel, near Lieursaint, M. Flamen d'Assigny, of Sury, near Nevers; M. Frenilli, proprietor of a prosperous flock of Spanish sheep at Bourneville, near Fertè-Milon; and M. Chabert, who on one of his farms near Charenton keeps a flock of Spanish sheep. All these gentlemen are gratified in being able to refute every objection of scepticism or malevolence; and can vouch for the success of the Spanish breed in France. To the members of the commission of agriculture and the arts the country is also under great obligations on this subject; but a particular praise is due to Gilbert, who had the management of the flock at Rambouillet, for the intelligence, zeal, and assiduity with which he managed the department committed to his care.

Spain as with my own countrymen, who have for several years prosecuted the breeding of Spanish sheep in France, have enabled me to collect some details on the subject, which the most frivolous of my readers will consider as at least interesting; those of a different turn of mind will give me thanks for my trouble.

At first there was an opinion, and it is still credited although opposed by several intelligent Spaniards, that the wool of Spain is indebted for its fineness and other qualities, not so much to the temperature, climate, or nature of the pasture, as to the custom they have of making the sheep travel from place to place; but what incontestibly proves that the Spanish sheep do not only furnish fine wool without the assistance of periodical migrations, or even of the soil or climate, to which their precious fleece has been ascribed, is, that the flock which came originally from Spain, and was kept for upwards of thirty years by M. Daubenton, and sent by his Catholic Majesty in 1785, through my means, to Louis XVII, for his possessions at Rambouillet, have constantly furnished wool which the connoisseurs have not been able to distinguish from real Spanish wool, taken from sheep which had never left their own country.

The flock of Rambouillet suffered from their change of climate and regimen in another way: of 360 sheep sent from Spain under my care about 60 perished on the road, although the Spanish

shepherds to whom I had entrusted them had driven them by very short journies, and although they passed the winter near Bourdeaux, in order to inure them insensibly to the climate of France. But this great mortality is the common effect of all the emigrations which take place from south to north, and mankind are not less exempt from it than animals.

In the first year after the flock had reached Rambouillet forty of them perished; this was attributed to the sheep-rot, which appeared soon after their arrival. The loss was inconsiderable the following years, if we except one season, in which about a twentieth part of the flock perished; but this ought to be ascribed to some particular cause, since almost all the flocks in the country were that season attacked, and fell off in a still greater proportion.

The flock at Rambouillet, so well preserved, experienced no care but that which every intelligent cultivator, prompted by self-interest, is able to bestow. At first it was attempted to keep them constantly, as in Spain, in the open air; it was then that the influence of the change of climate was observable. These animals, brought from a much warmer country, were sensible of the cold, the winds, and particularly the rains, with which their close and greasy wool was in truth with difficulty impregnated, but which was also long in drying. Without prolonging this experiment, they hastened to remedy the evil; the

flock was confined in large and well aired sheep-cots; and much advantage was derived from the change. Some lambs perished with cold during the rigorous winter of 1793-1794, even in these cots. This arose from a circumstance in which Spain has an advantage over France, and in which the latter can never participate: in Spain the lambs are born in the month of October, while in our climate they come into the world in the month of January; but we can infer nothing from an excess of cold which does not occur perhaps more than four times in a century.

The change of food has not deteriorated the flock at Rambouillet, or its progeny. The soil on which sheep usually feed in Spain, both in Castile and Estramadura, is in general dry and stony, and the grass is short and fine. It would be difficult to find a country the climate and herbage of which forms a more striking contrast with those of Spain than Rambouillet: the greatest part of the park is covered with wood; the soil is almost every where clayey, tough, watery, and cold. The fortunate results of this first trial have deceived the predictions of all the cultivators of the country, and proved that flocks of the Spanish breed may succeed any where. Besides, we know that in Saxony, Wirtemberg, Denmark, and Sweden,* where they have tried to naturalize

* Of this I was convinced, both from occular demonstration and from authentic reports, during my residence in the two latter kingdoms. I saw at Fredericksburg, a palace of the king

them, they have never degenerated. But with respect to France, it has only been very lately that these attempts have been followed up, so as to insure a future national benefit from the breeding of Spanish sheep.

of Denmark, a flock of the Spanish breed, which was then in the fourth generation, and had not degenerated. It is true that the original flock was chosen in Spain by a Dane who was well versed in agriculture, and in the management of cattle, and who was as experienced on the subject as the best Spanish shepherd. This was M. Nilson, inspector of the king of Denmark's stud, and one of his majesty's most useful subjects. I was also assured in Sweden that some proprietors have had, for these several years past, sheep of the Spanish race under their care with equal success. I ought to mention in particular the respectable name of Dr. Schultzenheim, whose flock of pure Spanish sheep I have seen a few leagues distant from Upsala, consequently in the 60th degree of north latitude. This gentleman allowed me to take from one of his rams (a descendant of those sent from Cadiz in 1795) a lock of wool which does not yield, in point of length, fineness, and elasticity, to any other taken in Spain itself from an animal of the country.

Those who desire to be better informed as to the Spanish sheep transplanted into northern countries, are referred to a work published by M. Lasteyrie in 1802, upon his return from Denmark and Sweden; it is entitled *Histoire de l'introduction des Moutons à laine fine d'Espagne*. More recently Messrs. Violet and Lullin, of Geneva, have published two books on the same subject. These three works, and that of M. Landrin, which preceded them, should be read by all who wish to become acquainted with the economy of the Spanish sheep; they will remove every uncertainty, and set aside all prejudices on the subject.

For some years past success has attended all the undertakings of this kind made with rams and ewes bought at the sale annually made by government at Rambouillet. These animals have always brought a very high price,* as well as their wool; and this circumstance is a security for their preservation. We find proofs of this among all those intelligent farmers who have attended to this branch of industry—a pacific conquest, much more precious than any acquisition which can result from our military successes against Spain; a conquest also which our treaty of peace with this power has embraced, by securing to us a new flock of these valuable animals, which are rigorously prohibited by the government from being exported to other coun-

* With the exception of the year 1797, when a taste for simplicity, dictated by the necessity of economy, and some other more afflicting and less temporary causes, lowered the price of sheep, and even that of wool, the dealers in which offered but twenty sols for the pound uncombed, while in 1792, it was sold for eight livres ten sols, and our common wool sold for thirty sols. In 1795, the wool dealers would give no more than one hundred sols for the former. Within these eight or ten years, reason and experience have triumphed over prejudice and jealousy. The price of the wool of these newly introduced Spanish sheep, now called *Merinos*, has been fixed at a medium between the two extremes. During the years 1803 and 1804, it has constantly kept between forty-five and fifty sols for the pound. uncombed, and wool from the Rambouillet flock even sold for fifty-four sols. The manufacturers in France have now no hesitation in purchasing the wool of the French Merinos when it is equally fine with that which they import from Spain.

tries.* The only measure which could ultimately secure these advantages to France, has been adopted: it has been agreed that the Rambouillet flock shall be freely sold at high prices. Every other method would have been of no avail: the French being more the slaves of custom than is

* Various obstacles have retarded for more than three years, the execution of the treaty of Basle, by which the King of Spain granted the French Government permission to export five thousand ewes and five hundred rams. It was not until 1798 that Gilbert was instructed to proceed to Spain for the purpose of buying and choosing these animals. He succeeded in procuring about twelve hundred; but he sunk under the fatigues of the journey. After his death a committee of thirty merchants was charged with the fulfilment of the work thus began. In each of the two subsequent years, they brought from Spain about a thousand sheep, which they divided among themselves, or sold in the various departments. During the year following the government took the charge of the greatest part of the Merinos imported from Spain, but the above committee claimed its privileges, and towards the end of 1804, they expected to obtain on their own account the thousand sheep still remaining to complete the original number agreed upon. This is the precise state of the undertaking at the moment of my writing this (1805). Its success, although slow, is of infinite importance to France. The number of Merinos thus procured is already considerable; the quantity of wool they produce is, however, far from being sufficient for the consumption of our manufacturers. It must be several years before the naturalization of the Merinos will be well established in France; but as it is sufficiently proved that they do not degenerate, and have preserved their race pure in more than a hundred places, subsequent importations will perhaps be unnecessary to secure to us the possession of this advantage.

generally imagined. The country people in particular are averse from innovations. The rams and ewes of Spain distributed gratuitously, as at first attempted, would have infallibly perished for want of care, in the hands of ignorant and prejudiced persons. These animals have nothing attractive in their first appearance. Their dirty, compact, and frizzled wool, their small stature and uncouth form, presents to the simple inhabitants of the country nothing which in their ideas is the characteristic of beauty. The resolution of selling these animals at a high price has been judged the most certain of all methods, because it places them in the hands of true amateurs, and of connoisseurs, whose interest and pleasure it is to preserve them. With respect to interest, the most aukward or the most obstinate cultivator will soon be convinced that his advantage will be great from the adoption of these Spanish sheep, whether pure or crossed in the breed. They require no more care than what is necessary for the sheep of France when we wish to keep them healthy and clean. They accommodate themselves to the same climate, the same soil, the same food, and merely require a little more attention on account of their fleece being thicker and more greasy; it however sells for double the price, and is at least twice the weight of common wool. We know that the medium weight of our common wool is from

three to four pounds for each sheep;* that of the Spanish breed whether pure or crossed is, however, from seven to eight. Some well attested examples prove the extreme difference between the weight of the fleeces of the wool of our common sheep and that of the original Spanish sheep. In one of his last shearings, M. de Lamerville, near Bourges, found one of his fleeces from a Spanish sheep to weigh eleven pounds and a half, and six years ago, M. Chabert shewed me one which weighed nearly twelve pounds,† and came not from a sheep of the pure Spanish breed, but from one of a crossed breed of the third generation. The proprietor of the same flock has even had two rams of the pure race, which for three years successively, yielded him from thirteen to fourteen pounds of the finest wool, possessing if not the same degree of fineness, at least all the elasticity and other qualities of that of Spain. Here then is a double profit secured to those cultivators who renounce their

* I do not speak of some districts where sheep of even a middling quality give from ten to twelve pounds of wool.

† The medium weight of the fleeces of the Merinos introduced into France was from seven to eight pounds. Such, for instance, was the result of the shearing at Bourneville, in 1804. The wool produced sold for 47 sols per pound in its grease. The price of horned rams from fifteen to eighteen months old, was from 250 to 300 livres, and the ewes averaged 100 livres.

prejudices, and it is not easy to reply to such an argument.

There are in a word, few departments where these Spanish breeds have not been introduced. Since they have sold at high prices, they have succeeded every where, because they have met with that attention which animals imported always require at first. That part of France where the climate and pasture seems to agree best with the Spanish sheep, Roussillon, was the very province where this happy innovation was adopted with most difficulty. They thought that their wool required no amelioration; but experience has triumphed over prejudice here as well as in other parts; and there is now at Perpignan a very fine flock of Merinos, which the government has formed out of a part of those brought by Gilbert from Spain.

But it may be asked if these transplanted animals, and their progeny produce wool equally fine as in their native country? To answer this question with scrupulous fidelity, it must be confessed that at first, for about fifteen years, when the government caused the wool of a small flock of Spanish sheep to be manufactured at Abbéville by Van Robais, the cloth was then neither so fine nor so beautiful as that made from the Spanish wool; in short, it did not possess that softness and pliability which characterises the true Spanish kind. This experiment is perhaps less favourable

from having been made on this particular flock. However it results from all the other experiments, that if the French wool of this pure Spanish race is not quite so pliable as that of Spain, it is equally fine; that it acquires a little more length without losing its principal quality, and that this additional length renders the wool peculiarly fit for the manufacture of cloth. In short, specimens which have been presented every year since the arrival of the flock at Rambouillet, will prove to the most incredulous, that it has undergone no alteration for the last eighteen years.

It cannot be said that the experience of eighteen years is not sufficient for affirming that the wool of the Spanish sheep does not degenerate after a lapse of time. If this degeneration must take place, we should have perceived some indications of it before now. Besides, the flock of M. Daubenton removes all doubt, since it has been kept up in all its purity for thirty years upon a most ungrateful soil, and this worthy man has published certificates from our chief manufacturers, who attest, that having indiscriminately used wool coming directly from Spain, and that of his flock, they found not the smallest possible difference. M. Le Blanc, of Mareuil-le-Port, assured me, in the latter end of 1796, that for ten years past, he had cloth manufactured with wool from his own flocks of the pure breed, out of the Rambouillet flock, and the ma-

nufacturers he employed made no distinction between this wool and that of Spain, observing only that the latter had *a little more nerve.* We may here remark, that this slight inferiority, as to the pliability of the wool, is perhaps the only effect which results from the change of climate; this quality, arising chiefly from the great perspiration which the climate of Spain favours, and hence arises the very unctuous grease with which the wool of the transplanted sheep is impregnated. It is also to be observed, that it is not the transplanted sheep alone which give these results: those which are produced from them by crossing with French breeds furnish, down to the fourth generation, a wool as beautiful as that of the absolutely pure breed, provided they remove all the males belonging to the crossings, and admit of the *mixed* females to have intercourse with rams of a pure breed only, and well chosen; it being ascertained that the rams influence more than two thirds of the propagation; provided also that these delicate animals are not squeezed into narrow, low, and suffocating sheep cots; and taking care that they are entrusted to vigilant and intelligent shepherds, like those of M. Chabert, at Maisons, who is a pattern in that respect. It seems that the ewes thus managed, produce the same offspring in whatever part of France they are. The government has for some time kept a flock at Sceaux, expressly

for comparative experiments upon the crossing of rams of the true Spanish breed with ewes from the various provinces. But these trials have not as yet been sufficiently multiplied to serve as a basis of positive assertion. We can only assert that the Spanish race, crossed with our coarse woolled ewes, yield even further down than the fourth generation, productions equal to the pure race; that if we couple this race with ewes of a large make, and well covered with wool, we attain much more slowly the degree of purity desirable, but we have a breed well covered with wool; that if we make the crossing with fine woolled ewes, like those of Roussillon, Sologne, and Berry; we have in fact superfine fleeces, but much lighter the Spanish wool.

It seems therefore to be well ascertained, that the so much boasted quality of the Spanish wool, does not exclusively depend upon soil or climate. It is not less proved, that the wandering sheep, called *tras humantes,* or *ganado merino,* are not in the least improved by their periodical journies. The Spaniards need not seek in France for a proof of these assertions, they are well known in their own country. It is incontestible that there are permanent flocks in Estramadura, the wool of which does not sensibly differ from the best of these wandering sheep. It is equally certain, that in the environs of Segovia there are small flocks which never

leave the spot, the wool of which is also equally fine. I was assured in that province, that out of twenty thousand arrobas of fine wool collected there, one third is furnished by the stationary flocks. Whence arises the custom, therefore, so troublesome in every respect, of constantly driving through all parts of the kingdom several millions of these animals?* It proceeds from every thing that causes, propagates, and consolidates these abuses which have originated in Spain, the ruinous privileges of the *Mesta*.

The Mesta is a society of large proprietors of flocks, composed of the heads of rich monasteries, grandees of Spain, and opulent individuals, who find their advantage in feeding their sheep at the public expence at all seasons of the year, and who have sanctioned, by short sighted regulations, a practice at first introduced by necessity. In distant times, the

* In the sixteenth century, the number of wandering sheep exceeded seven millions. Under Philip the third, this number fell to two millions and a half. Ustariz, who lived at the beginning of the last century, computed them at four millions. The general opinion at present is, that they do not exceed five millions. If we add to this eight millions of these animals always stationary, we shall have an aggregate of thirteen millions of sheep conspiring against the prosperity of Spain for the advantage of a few individuals; for the proprietors of the stationary flocks have privileges nearly similar to those of the members of the Mesta.

mountains of Soria, and of Segovia, condemned by their precipices, and the nature of their soil, to eternal sterility, were, during the summer, the asylum of some of the neighbouring flocks; before the approach of winter, their temperature was no longer supportable by these delicate animals. They went in search of a milder climate in the neighbouring plains. Their possessors soon converted this convenience into a right, and formed a community, which after some time was increased by all those who, upon acquiring flocks, became desirous of enjoying the same prerogatives. The theatre extended as the actors became more numerous, and the excursions of the flocks gradually stretched towards the plains of Estramadura, where they found a temperate climate and abundant pasture: the abuse at length became intolerable, but it was too deeply rooted to be easily overthrown, and all that was powerful in the kingdom was interested in its continuance. For more than a century, a constant struggle took place between the associates of the Mesta on the one hand, and the *Estremeños*, or inhabitants of Estramadura, on the other, the latter having on their side all those who felt an interest in the public good.

How indeed could they repress their indignation on seeing, in the month of October in each year, millions of sheep descending from the mountains of Old Castile upon the plains of Estrama-

dura and Andalusia, where they continued until the following May, feeding both on their coming and returning upon the fields of the inhabitants; and the ordonnances of the Mesta fixing a breadth of forty toises as a road through which they were to pass, while the pasturages kept on purpose for them were let at a very low rent, which the proprietors sought in vain to increase. Thus the unfortunate province of Estramadura, which is about fifty leagues in length by forty in breadth, and which could provide subsistence for two millions of men, scarcely contains an hundred thousand inhabitants. Nor can it be doubted that this depopulation must be ascribed to the scourge of the Mesta, since the provinces which are not visited by these baneful privileges, such as Galicia, the Asturias, Biscay, and the mountainous parts of Burgos, are very populous.

This shameful abuse has been attacked by several enlightened Spaniards as well in our days as in the preceding centuries; by Leruela, Ustariz, Arriquibar, and even by the laughing philosopher Cervantes, who under the mask of amusement has given such profound lessons to his fellow-citizens and to mankind. The subject has also been recently taken up by Don Antonio Ponz, by Count Campomanes, &c. &c. but their voices have hitherto been "crying in the desert." The abuse does not rest solely with those in power; it may be ascribed to idleness, and to

the miscalculations of interest, in preferring the feeding of sheep to the encouragement of agriculture. Within these hundred years wool has doubled its value, while corn, which is so troublesome and so precarious, has very little increased in price. Ten thousand sheep will produce in a common year five thousand arrobas, or five hundred quintals of wool, at the rate of five livres for each fleece. On valuing the arroba at one hundred reals only, or twenty-five livres tournois, these 10,000 sheep will be worth 50,000 francs, from which must indeed be deducted their food, the expence of their journies, the hire of pasturage during winter, the salary of the shepherds, and other small expences: this leaves a *net profit*, however, sufficient to render this kind of property very desirable.

As to the practice of making the sheep travel from place to place, besides being rendered sacred by the laws and by long custom, it is excusable from the necessity of existing circumstances. Either they must diminish the number of sheep, or they must travel a little. Those which feed in the fine season upon the mountains of Soria, Cuenca, Segovia, and Buytrago, would die with hunger there in winter; and where would they find a better asylum than Estramadura, a province thinly inhabited, poor in other respects, its pastures being its only resource? I know well that this argument may be consi-

dered as begging the question, but government has always held it to be conclusive.

There are some among the members of administration who would excuse the custom, even from the long tolerance which has perpetuated the practice. Despotic as they are, they feign some scruples in attacking by violent reforms the property of the breeders of sheep. And how is it possible to bring them voluntarily to renounce a benefit, the management of which is neither very complicated nor very expensive; and the produce of which constantly finds a ready market in the avidity with which the wools of Spain have been hitherto bought up by manufacturing countries. Besides, the royal exchequer itself is interested in the support of this branch of industry; for the taxes levied upon the export of wool form an important branch of the revenue. They have produced within these five years from twenty-seven to twenty-eight millions of reals. Such a source could not be checked, without having at hand a certain and very speedy method of supplying its place.

There is a slower but more certain method by which Spain will succeed, perhaps, in spite of herself, in getting rid of this innumerable host of animals which devour her, if we may so express ourselves when speaking of animals, the name of which alone awakens ideas of innocence and peace; this method will be the same with what

has begun to be pursued in France, and to which the success of that nation may successively attract others, who have hitherto thought that wool from Spain was an indispensible commodity. Then will the slothful and greedy proprietors of these immense flocks be obliged to give their industry and their opulence a turn, less profitable, perhaps, for themselves, but more advantageous to their country. Happy Spain, if foreseeing the effects of such a revolution, she prepares beforehand her territory for a new destination, by multiplying and improving the roads, canals, and other means of amelioration which are still wanting!

In the state in which things are at present, and in which they may too long continue, their wool is the principal source of riches, apparently at least, in Spain. Before the war of 1793, they exported annually from Bilboa, from 20 to 22,000 bales of wool, most of them weighing two hundred pounds, and some 250 pounds each; and from St. Andero about one third of this quantity was exported. Now these are the two ports from which by far the most considerable part of the wool of the north of Spain is exported. If we may judge from the exports of 1792, England received the greater part of this commodity, Holland next, and France the least. There were exported at Bilboa, 16,176 bales for England, 6,180 for Holland, 186 for Rouen, 654

for Ostend and 356 for Hamburgh; and from St. Andero, there were exported 2,634 for London, 2,314 for Bristol, 1,909 for Amsterdam, and 1,200 for Rouen.

But the year 1792 ought not to be taken as an average. At this period the commerce of France felt the effects of the revolution, and of the war which broke out in May that year. In ordinary years France consumes more than four times the quantity of Spanish wool, that is to say, from eleven to twelve hundred bales, and consequently more than one half of what comes from the northern ports. Valuing the bales on an average at 1400 reals per quintal, (taking into the estimate the price of some very fine *leoneses*, which in 1792 were at the price of eighteen or nineteen hundred reals, and the price of the common wool which was from 1100 to 1150), and taking the weight of each bale as at two quintals, we shall find that annually, before the revolution, we received fine wool from Spain to the amount of upwards of 32,000,000 of reals.*

* As in this calculation every thing is taken in a reduced way, since the superfine *leoneses* are those of which the greatest number is exported, and as several of the bales of this description weigh 250 pounds, it will not be an exaggeration of the value to add 8,000,000 to this 32,000,000 of reals. This agrees with the statement of our balance of trade furnished by M. Flandrin, from which it appears, that in 1782 we received wool from Spain to the value of 13,600,000 livres. See M. Flandrin's work *Sur l'Education des Moutons*, p. 213.

Our manufactories at Louviers, Elbeuf, Reims, Abbeville, Sedan, and that of Decretot in particular, could not exist without Spanish wool for their fine cloths; the wool of Champaign and of Berry, of which they consume a great quantity, is only used to mix up for common cloths, and never in any great proportion entering into the composition of the finer sorts. There are some also, as the casimirs, which do not admit of any mixture, and should be woven with very pure superfine Leonese. If we succeed, therefore, in sufficiently extending the propagation of sheep in France, perfected by the crossing of the true Spanish breed, we shall free ourselves from an annual tribute to Spain of twelve or thirteen millions of livres. Let us hope, therefore, that the return of public spirit into our companies of merchants and others, will find in this argument a motive for turning the speculations of our cultivators towards this amelioration: it is a speculation which indeed requires attention and industry, but very little employment of capital. But to return to the subject of the wool trade in Spain itself.

It is probable that from 32 to 33,000 bales are exported, weighing from 200 to 250 pounds each. This was the amount of the exportation in 1792 from the ports of Bilboa and St. Andero, without reckoning five or six hundred bales of uncombed wool; for at present almost all the

Spanish wool is washed. Before the increase of the customs upon unwashed wool, which took place in 1787, almost all the fleeces of the Leonese and Segovian sheep, and those called *Sorias caballeros*, were exported unwashed,* forming a mass of from 1800 to 2000 bales, of 11 or 12 arrobas, or from 275 to 300 pounds weight each. Within these thirty years the poverty of the exchequer, and the persuasion that manufacturing nations could not exist without Spanish wool, whatever might be its price, have induced the Spanish government to increase the duties on exportation.

From 1766 to 1787 these duties rose from 42 reals 12 maravedis for each arroba of washed wool, to 66 reals 28 maravedis, and from 21 reals six maravedis for wool in the grease to 50 reals four maravedis.

Notwithstanding these successive augmentations, the exportation of wool has rather increased than diminished. This operated as one of the causes, although not the principal one, for the rise in the price of cloths. The rise was chiefly owing to the advance of the materials. For about thirty years the price of wool in the *grease*, or in *surge*, as it is called, rose from 75 to 80 reals for the arroba of the finest of all the *Le-*

* Washing greatly diminishes the weight of Spanish wool. By the operation it always loses one half in weight. In general the loss is nearly two thirds.

oneses, and from 100 to 120 for wool of an inferior quality. Manufacturing and commercial countries have not however, diminished their demands on this account; on the contrary, at the beginning of the war which broke out in Europe in 1792, the exportation of wool from Spain was on the increase. It is at Madrid, although far distant from the wool districts, that the most considerable bargains are made. There are in that capital four or five houses entirely occupied in the business; they buy for several years in advance the fleeces of those proprietors whose sheep appear to them most eligible.* But none of the Spanish merchants have either funds or spirit enough to attempt these speculations, and they leave the profit of them in a great measure to commercial nations. The French, the English, and the Dutch, purchase the Segovian and Leonese wool at Saint Andero and Bilboa, not allowing even the Spaniards a commission upon the sale. They purchase the wool from the hands of the shepherd, and wash it on their own account; the Dutch in particular take a great quantity in this way; not that they employ all

* The Duke de l'Infantado, for instance, made a bargain in 1791, by which he alienated for eight years the produce of his shearings, for the sum of 100,000 common piasters. The house of the Gremios speculated most largely in this way. Upon the return of peace, they found 900 bales on their hands, which they disposed of with great difficulty.

this quantity themselves, but because the merchants who have not the command of capital, are sure of having their wants supplied, and are besides accommodated with long credit. For the wool thus purchased in its rough state, the Dutch factors pay ready money; it is then deposited in their extensive warehouses, and sold again at a great profit to those who suit themselves with particular sorts. The manufacturers of Verviers and Aix-la-Chapelle have in vain attempted to set aside this practice, and to supply themselves direct from Spain. They experienced every kind of inconvenience in the attempt; they were dissatisfied with the wool which was sent them; they disputed about the price, and time of payment, expecting a credit of fifteen months, and were at length obliged to return to the old custom.

Notwithstanding all that has been said, it is difficult to determine exactly the quantity of fine Spanish wool which is annually exported, including Seville, where the wool of the southern provinces is shipped. I was assured that in 1790 the export amounted to 60,000,000 reals. The following calculation will prove that this estimate is below the real value.

Let us fix at 22,000 bales only the exports from Bilboa; from St. Andero 8000; to which add the 4,500 exported from Seville; we shall then have a total of 74,500 bales; and supposing each bale to weigh only 200lbs. the amount will be

6,900,000 lbs. at ten reals per pound, and this gives an aggregate of 69,000,000 reals. In this calculation every thing is taken at the lowest rate, particularly the price of the wool; for in 1792 the superfine Leoneses were at 1886, and the common wool at 1150 reals per quintal; consequently more than 18 reals per lb. for the first sort, and upwards of 11 for the latter. There is no exaggeration, therefore, in estimating at 80,000,000 of reals the sum Spain gains every year by the sale of wool; but a general peace can alone ensure the continuance of so extensive a demand. Will France continue to be one of the principal markets, and to consume, as before the rupture, more than 10,000 bales per annum? Yes, undoubtedly; even when the change to which we look forward is accomplished, when even certain interested views will not be opposed to its progress, and when the calculations of avarice shall have given way to those of patriotism: prejudice may, however, for a time domineer over reason, and custom over the real interest of the proprietors. It may be asked, if this change does not take place, will Spain lose what France gains? Assuredly not. The revolution thus insensibly produced in its political economy, will necessarily lead to ameliorations, and to the adoption of new plans by those proprietors who have been deluded by their too easily acquired opulence. Some rich individuals would, without doubt, be

injured, but the mass of the population would be greatly benefited.

Spaniards, our allies, do not look with sensations of uneasiness on the fortunate efforts we have already made to dispense with the use of your wool: we are still far distant from the attainment of our objects, which can only be accomplished by length of time. Confide in that versatility of which the revolution has not entirely cured us; trust to the deep-rooted prejudices of our peasantry; and consider also that the loss with which you seem threatened does not appear formidable to such of your fellow-citizens as are acquainted with your true interests.* Two of the most enlightened ministers you have had during the present century, Campillo under Philip the Fifth, and La Ensenada under Ferdinand the Sixth, considered the immense exportation of your wool as one of the greatest obstacles to the pro-

* I regret that a Spaniard, whose opinion is entitled to much respect, has thought otherwise. I know that a Frenchman, who had procured a few sheep from the Rambouillet flock, carried one of the Spanish shepherds who accompanied them into France, and presented him to the Spanish ambassador at Paris, who coldly replied to the congratulations of the French gentleman in the following manner:—"You need not thank me, Sir, for had I been consulted, a single Spanish sheep would never have left that kingdom." I do not charge M. d'Aranda with making this answer; he was more enlightened as to the true interests of his country, and national jealousies were altogether beneath him.

gress of your industry; because, said they, the nations who were the original purchasers, sent it back manufactured, and resold it to you at an exorbitant advance in price; and because the wools of a coarser quality which remained in Spain were manufactured there at a great expence, your weavers being desirous to recompense themselves for the high price and little value of that which was left them. In short, the most enlightened persons among you are of opinion, that to concur in the diminution of your immense flocks of sheep, would be to acquire a claim upon your gratitude rather than to inspire a feeling of resentment.

Let it not be imagined, however, that Spain does not consume a part of this wool in her own manufactories. For a long period all the common wool has been worked up into cloth for uniforms for the troops and the dress of the lower orders of people, and the exportation of it is prohibited.

The greater part of the sheep which produce it are black, consequently the cloth is of that colour. Hence the great quantity of brown mantles is accounted for, which add so much to the dismal and dirty appearance of the inhabitants of the country, particularly in the two Castiles. There is also wool of a second quality, like that of Valencia, the exportation of which is not prohibited; this wool is employed in many ma-

nufactories in Languedoc, but is, for the most part, made into cloth in the province which produces it. As to the finer sorts of wool, they are employed in several provinces of Spain, and particularly in the manufactory at Guadalaxara. Strange vicissitude! this place owes its existence to two strangers, who made a most splendid fortune at the expence of the natives.

Cardinal Alberoni, in the year 1718, laid the foundation of this establishment, and placed it under the management of Ripperda. At first cloths of an inferior quality only were manufactured, although the finest wool was made use of. In the time of Charles the third the manufactory of San Fernando was removed to Guadalaxara, where nothing but superfine cloths had been made. Since that period various manufactories of fine cloths have been established at Guadalaxara.

In 1783 this was perhaps the most complete establishment of its kind in Europe: within its walls was every requisite for the manufacture of cloths, while the tools and implements used in the work were all made upon the spot. There were 24 looms for cloths of the first quality, properly called *San Fernando cloth*; one hundred for the second sort, and 506 for serges; with all these they expected in a short time to be able to dispense with supplies from the English, to whom, for the sole article of woollen cloth, Spain paid an-

nually two millions of pounds sterling. These looms were contained in two buildings, and gave employment to 3825 persons, all paid by the King; to these may be added a far greater number scattered throughout La Mancha and the Castiles, who are occupied in spinning wool for Guadalaxara. With the exception of a want of economy in the administration, a defect which has been since remedied, no where could a better organised establishment be found. The city of Guadalaxara also formed a stricking contrast with those around it. I did not remark a single beggar, nor even an idle person, among the 15 or 16,000 inhabitants it contained. Such are the advantages resulting from manufactures, but particularly those of cloth, which have so many minute operations connected with them, capable of being executed by old people and children. Nature having apparently condemned some of her creatures to languish as a burden upon the arts, these establishments may be said to furnish a sort of supplementary labour in favour of enfeebled or suffering humanity.

The manufactories of Guadalaxara have undergone various changes since the year 1783, under the auspices of different managers. Vallejo has recently brought them to an additional degree of perfection, although at an immense expence. His successor, Don Santiago Romero, sacrificed less to fame than to utility: he adopted

measures to secure new markets for the cloths, and caused them to be manufactured according to the taste of the consumers. Already the Spaniards tell us that their manufactories at Guadalaxara are on a level with those of Abbeville; and in this respect they do not perhaps exaggerate. But will it be credited, although they have wool from 25 to 36 per cent. cheaper than we have, although their manufactories are surrounded by a numerous population, and by plenty of wood and water, that their cloths were, before the war, much dearer than ours?* We must indeed confess, and it is admitted by unprejudiced Spaniards themselves, that they are still behind us in the arts of dyeing and fulling their cloths; but if we had, like them, the raw materials, a few expert workmen in these two branches would be sufficient to bring our manufactures to the utmost perfection. The Spanish government is not insensible, however, to the means of attaining this object; all those arts of seduction which rival states generally contrive to frustrate, but which they are obliged to pass unnoticed, have

* Charles the fourth, who visited them in 1791, found 306 looms for fine cloth, and 350 for serges; they employed 24,000 persons, and manufactured to the annual amount of 13 or 14,000,000 reals. Cloths of the most beautiful colour, but inferior in point of quality, are sold for 84 reals a yard, the finest San Fernando at 94, that of Brihuega at 74, and the serges at 13. The Spanish yard is to the ell as five is to seven.

been resorted to by the court of Madrid to decoy workmen and artists from France and England, to improve their national manufactures. About the end of the year 1794 I discovered that a manufacturer from one of our establishments, whom I shall not name, allowed himself to be seduced by the Spanish government upon the offer of 160,000 piasters, to establish a cloth manufactory in Old Castile, and to bring a hundred French families along with him. The project of course did not succeed, for I found no trace of it on my second journey. About the same time, two of our artists, whom I shall name, *Quatremere d'Isjonval,* of the Academy of Sciences, and *Chardron,* a manufacturer of Sedan, received proposals of this nature, but rejected them. I know that similar temptations have since been held out in England with better success.

The Spaniards, however, have some expert workmen at home, capable of bringing their cloth manufactories to the utmost degree of perfection; among these they mention with respect *Don Gregorio Garcia,* the present manager of the works established by the minister Lerena at Valdemaro, the place of his birth, situated between Madrid and Aranjuez, and one of his pupils, *Don Pedro Cuesta,* of Segovia.

Guadalaxara is the only place in Spain where the famous Vigonia cloth is manufactured; it is made from a precious wool imported from the

colonies of Buenos Ayres and Peru, which is no where else to be found. An attempt has been made to weave this wool in France, and those who have compared our Vigonia cloth with that made at Guadalaxara, agree that ours is more agreeable to the eye, but that made in Spain possesses more durability, either because the Spanish weavers are better acquainted with the management of it, or because they keep the finest Vigonia wool to themselves. These cloths are not yet in general use among the Spaniards, and cannot consequently be procured, unless ordered several months before they are really wanted. Some of these Vigonias are manufactured at the expence of the King, who sends them as presents to foreign courts. In the year 1782 Charles the third sent twenty pieces to the Grand Signior, on the conclusion of a treaty with the Porte. Upon this occasion it was said, that the Spaniards were anxious to inspire the Turks with a taste for their cloths, and so prevalent was this opinion, that even the manufacturing countries were somewhat alarmed. How could the Spanish government undertake this trade in competition with rivals who have acquired a kind of prescriptive right from long usage, and can also boast an advantage over Spain in the art of manufacturing woollen cloths? Would it not be wise in Spain first to clothe the twenty-two millions of subjects who live under her dominion, from the pro-

ductions of her own manufactures? But the Spaniards are not yet arrived at this degree of prosperity; and it will not be by measures like those attempted in 1788 that they will ever succeed in attaining it. At that time the managers of the royal manufactories could find no other expedient to sell off the stock lying in their warehouses, to the amount of 200,000 piasters, than obtaining a decree to prohibit the exportation to Spanish America of all cloth manufactured in any foreign country. This decree occasioned remonstrances from the English and French governments, and even from the Spanish merchants, who had a considerable quantity of foreign cloths on hand. It was accordingly modified in some respects; and had not the government consented to this measure, necessity, generally fertile in fraudulent resources, would have found means wholly to elude the prohibition.

At the return of peace, the manufactories of Guadalaxara, and those of Brihuega situated about four leagues distant, possessing about 400 looms for fine cloths, were in a flourishing condition, and sent their goods to markets less fluctuating than their neighbours. In the course of the year 1796 they had an establishment at Madrid, from which were sold from nine to ten thousand pieces per month.

Segovia, celebrated at all times for the goodness of its wool, was not less so in former days

for the number and perfection of its manufactories. But how has it fallen from its ancient splendor!

The patriotic society of Segovia has published a statement, that in the golden age of that city it had six hundred looms for fine cloths. In 1697 it contained only two hundred and fifty, but during the first half of the last century industry began to revive. In 1748 there were three hundred and sixty-five looms, which employed 4300 persons, and consumed more than 50,000 arrobas of unwashed wool. Of late the government has been perhaps too strenuously occupied with the regeneration of the manufactures: in 1785, however, there was a plan laid down for their organization, the result of which was, that in the five succeeding years they manufactured more than 4000 pieces. With but a few exceptions, the manufacturers of Segovia are completely wedded to old habits, and despise every improvement. One person only has deserved the encouragement of government. Don *Laureano Ortiz* established, in 1779, a new manufactory of superfine cloths, which the King patronized by granting him some privileges, which were not, however, injurious to others. Ortiz thus protected and encouraged, could not fail to prosper: in 1786 he had seventy looms, and employed 2800 persons. He soon accumulated an immense fortune for his family, but did not live long to en

joy it; he died in 1788, and his loss was seriously deplored by his country. His successor inherited his zeal and talents, and in 1792 I was assured that the manufactory had not degenerated. The manufactory of Ortiz, and that called San Fernando at Guadalaxara, are said to be the only establishments at present in the kingdom for the production of superfine cloths: this fact will appear astonishing, perhaps, when it is considered that Spain abounds with the finest wool in Europe.

Before leaving Segovia I am desirous to conclude my observations respecting the sheep of Spain. In the mountains adjoining this city a great part of the wandering flocks pasture during the summer season. They are seen descending in the course of October, along with the flocks from the mountains of the ancient Numantia (*Soria*) quitting those which separate the two Castiles, and after passing through New Castile, dispersing themselves in the plains of Estramadura and Andalusia. Those which are nearer the Sierra Morena pass the winter there. The length of their journies is proportioned to the kind of pasture they obtain. They travel in flocks of 1000 or 1200, under the guidance of two shepherds; the chief shepherd is called the *Mayoral*, the other the *Zagal*. When arrived at their destinations they are distributed among the various pasturages assigned to them. They proceed on their route again in May, and whether from cus-

tom, or from instinct, they travel onward to the climate best adapted for them at that season; the uneasiness they seem to feel indicates to their guides any necessity for a change of situation.

Each flock belongs to one master called a *Cavaña*, and the whole produce from the wool of these flocks is called *pila*. The *Cavañas* bear the names of their proprietors. The most numerous are those of Bejar and Negretti, each of which consists of 60,000 sheep. That of the Escurial, the most famous, has 50,000. Prejudice or custom makes the wool of certain *Cavañas* more sought after than the others. At Guadalaxara, for instance, they employ no wool but that of Negretti, the Escurial, and the Chartreuse of Paular. In 1785 the ewes and rams sent to Rambouillet were, as may be supposed, picked out from the most famous *Cavañas*; among them, besides the above, were the *Cavañas* of the Marquis d'Iranda, of the Marquis of Perales, of Manuel de Balbuena, and of Count San Rafael. Of all these various *Cavañas*, those of Paular are supposed to yield the finest wool in all Spain; and the Negretti* sheep are remarkable for their strength and the quantity of their wool: ten rams from these flocks were furnished to France.

* This is the name of the flocks belonging to the Marquis de Torre-Manzanal, or Count de Campo-Alange, who after having been several years minister of war, and afterwards ambassador at Vienna, now fills the same situation at the Court of Portugal.

They cost from sixty to eighty reals, and the ewes from fifty to sixty.

Upon the return of the wandering sheep, towards the month of May, the shearing is commenced; an operation of great magnitude in Spain, because performed upon a large scale in vast buildings called *esquileos*, arranged so as to receive whole flocks of 40, 50, and even 60,000 sheep. The harvest and vintage have nothing so solemn in their celebration. It is a time of festivity for the proprietors as well as for the workmen; the latter are divided into certain classes, and to each a different branch of the operation is allotted; 125 persons are found requisite to shear 1000 sheep. Every animal yields wool of three kinds, finer or coarser, according to the part of the body from which it is taken.

When the shearing is finished, the produce is collected in bales, and carried either to the sea-port towns for exportation, without any other operation, or to certain places, denominated washing-stations, in the environs of Segovia, and throughout the rest of Castile. I minutely inspected one of the most considerable of these stations, that of Ortijosa, three leagues from St. Ildefonso; and I am convinced that this operation, however imperfect and unnecessary it may at first appear, (because foreign manufacturers repeat it before using the wool) completely answers the purpose in view, that of preserving

it from being injured in its quality, by too long keeping. In general about ten thousand quintals of wool are washed in this single station, which forms a kind of vast basin, the inner margins of which are gently sloping meadows, exposed to the sun in every direction.

The wool is brought here in the state in which it is taken from the sheep,* being in clotted tufts or flocks; in this form they give it to the *Apartadores*, who divide it into three portions of different qualities: and so accustomed are they to this business, that at the first glance they know to what part of the animal the flock of wool belongs which first presents itself. The three qualities of the wool being thus separated, they are spread upon wooden hurdles; they are then scattered about and beaten, in order to clear them from the dust and filth which adhere to them, and are afterwards carried to the washing place.

From two large stopcocks fitted into an immense cauldron, boiling water flows into three square pits, three or four feet deep. Three men are then employed to stir the wool in every direction;

* Flandrin, who was sent to Spain expressly to acquire a knowledge of the history of the Spanish sheep, differs a little from me with respect to the operations of airing and washing the wool. I shall not attempt to controvert the accuracy of this respectable cultivator's information, who derived it, like myself, from the best authority—according to time and place, both may perhaps be right.

each kind of wool is washed separately, and requires water more or less hot according to the fineness of its quality.

When this operation is finished the wool is again spread out upon hurdles, for the purpose of extracting the filthy parts which the water has begun to dissolve. Those which are clotted with dirt, and unfit for use, are detached with the hand, laid aside, and the produce converted into a fund for the benefit of departed souls; for in Spain religion is introduced into all the minutiæ of social life. The Spaniards endeavour, by this association, to give an air of sanctity to their occupations, their wealth, and even to their pleasures.

The hurdles are afterwards placed between the wells and a narrow aqueduct through which a current of cold water flows. A man placed at the head of this water-course receives the wool and throws it in; it is then taken by five men, ranged one by one below him, who successively tread upon it, and transmit it from the one to the other. Lower down are other workmen, who also stop it as it passes, and throw it on a stone shelf where they wring it, and below this there is a small drain. A grating is placed at the extremity of this drain to prevent any part of the wool from being carried off by the current.

When the wool is well wrung it is spread upon

the sloping meadows I have already mentioned, and exposed to the sun for four days in order to dry it completely. When well dried, it is put into large sacks on which are two marks, one indicating the quality of the wool and the other the name of the flock which produced it. In this state it is exported; so that when we see bales of Spanish wool in any part of Europe, we may thus ascertain its quality and the place from which it came. The time is perhaps not far distant when the introduction of wool from Spain by our roads will cease, when our harbours will serve only as *entrepôts* for this precious production, and when we shall have no occasion to go from home to procure wool for our own manufactures. Let not Spain look upon our success with an envious eye, let not her allies be considered as dangerous rivals. When they have even deprived her of the exclusive possession of this advantage, will not many others remain which she will enjoy without a competitor? The field of industry is so wide, and its resources are so various, that every nation may cultivate it without injury to its neighbours. The deadly feuds of nations, like lawsuits between individuals, are best prevented by making mankind acquainted with each other, or explaining their true interest.

Until this desirable change takes place, Spain will no doubt continue to export, as usual, abundance of wool. At the period when the peace of

Basle was concluded, there were in the ports of Spain sixteen thousand bales of wool, which could not be forwarded on account of the war.

Since the conclusion of that peace, our manufacturers of Sedan, of Louviers, and Elbeuf, and even some houses in Paris and Orleans, have commissioned wool from Spain, but certainly in smaller quantities than before the war. The same gentlemen, as well as those of Sedan, Reims, and Verviers, still continue to order this commodity: but Spanish wool, the price of which has been so much raised by reiterated augmentations of the export duties within these few years, has had to encounter the competition of the wool of our own *Merinos;* and if pains are taken to increase the quantity, and to improve the quality of the latter, it will, if sold at a moderate price, soon furnish a substitute for the real Spanish wool.

England still affords a very extensive market for Spanish wool; and has even imported a greater quantity of late years than formerly. In 1788 it was calculated, that in each of the three preceding years, about 10,000 bales of Spanish wool were sent to England. In 1800 they reckoned 16,650. It may be conjectured, however, that the naturalization of *Merinos* which has succeeded in England, as well as in every other country, will diminish this importation. Should the case be otherwise, it must arise from an

increase in the manufactures of that country, or from the English wool-dealers refusing to pay any higher for *Merino* wool, than for that of the sheep of the country ; in which case, the farmers will have little encouragement to increase their stock of *Merinos*.

CHAP. IV

Palace of Saint Ildefonso. Etiquette. Titles, Dignities. Grandees. Orders of Chivalry.

We now quit the subject of Spanish wool, with Segovia and its environs, in order to conduct the reader to the palace of St. Ildefonso, which is only two leagues distant. We discern from a great distance the high mountains which rise behind it, and scarcely has the traveller left Segovia, when the building itself is plainly distinguishable; the approaches to it do not bespeak the residence of a powerful court, some miserable hamlets being thinly scattered upon the barren plains. Nothing better could indeed be expected from this part of Old Castile, surrounded as it is by rugged mountains, and destitute of roads, canals, or even rivers of any magnitude. But what contributed, perhaps, more than any other circumstance to the devastation of this province, were the numerous herds of deer which once overspread it, and whose tranquillity was disturbed during only two months in the year, by the hunting parties of the monarch and his family. Scarcely had Charles the Fourth ascended the throne, when in spite of his hereditary taste for the sports of the field, he hastened to make

regulations for effecting the gradual extermination of these animals, and insured obedience by his own example.

The nearer we approach St. Ildefonso, however, the more pleasing the country becomes; rivulets are seen meandering in the midst of delicious herbage, the hills and vallies are covered with herds of deer, which, from their apparent security, might be taken for domesticated animals. Some beautiful country-seats occasionally attract the eye, emerging from clusters of verdant oaks. In addition to this, the groupe formed by the palace and its appendages, overtopped by mountains partly naked and partly covered with trees to their summits, presents a scene truly picturesque. Arrived at the gate in front of this royal mansion, and which is separated from it by a large court in form of a glacis, we have an imperfect image of Versailles. One would at first suppose that Philip V, who built St. Ildefonso, delighted to surround himself with objects which might recal to his mind the much-loved scenes of infancy. He seems to have had the same object in view in the arrangement of his body guards. Of the ancient guard of the kings of Spain a company of halberdiers only remains, which may be compared with the *Cent-Suisses* at Versailles. Philip V. formed three companies of life-guards, each consisting of 200 men, modelled, both as to its formation and dress, after those of France. To

these three companies the present king has added a fourth by the name of the *American Company*. Two regiments which do duty on the outside of the palace, the Spanish and the Walloon guards, are also a perfect copy of the French and Swiss guards. Each of them sends a company to follow the court whenever the place of its residence is changed.

The posts of commanders of these six military corps, which form both the external and internal guards of the sovereign, are given to the most distinguished persons in the kingdom. The commander of the halberdiers is always a grandee of Spain. The captain of the Spanish company of the *gardes du corps* is chosen from the most illustrious families at court; and a lieutenant-general has been placed at the head of the new American company. The commander of the Italian company is generally an Italian nobleman; and that of the Flemish company is a Flemish lord, or at least a foreigner of Flemish extraction. It is the same with the colonel of the Walloon guards. As to the Spanish guards, their colonel is always chosen from among the most illustrious grandees in Spain; the Duke d'Ossuna commands them at present.*

* The Duke d'Ossuna spent several months at Paris in 1779 with his whole family; they exhibited a specimen of the pomp which surrounds the Spanish grandees of the highest rank, and at the same time of the simplicity of their manners, of their

Philip V. had the strongest partiality for the residence of St. Ildefonso, and the marks of his regard still survive him. His ashes are deposited in a chapel in front of the castle. I visited his mausoleum more than once; and it has something imposing from its simplicity. The sight of the tombs of the great almost always excites profound reflections; how powerful then must be the effect produced by the tomb of a prince whose reign holds so remarkable a place in the annals of modern times, and forms the era of the greatest disasters, and the last exploits of the reign of Louis XIV.; of a prince on whose account Europe was convulsed by three wars in less than half a century; of a prince whom the conquest of the largest monarchy in the world could not render happy, and whose rooted melancholy, embittering the last stage of his existence, has left an example to the world that the most splendid achievements of ambition bring nothing in their train but satiety and disgust!

More pleasing ideas take possession of the mind on viewing the residence which Philip V. constructed in the bosom of solitary woods, surrounded by rugged precipices. The palace has nothing magnificent, particularly in its exterior

affability, and of every thing that tends to heighten the splendor derived from the union of a great fortune with an illustrious name. The revenues of the Duke d'Ossuna were estimated at nearly three millions of our francs.

(See Plate III.) The garden front has a façade of the Corinthian order, which is not without dignity. Indeed this latter quality reigns throughout all the king's apartments; and there is a fine view over a parterre, surrounded with marble vases and statues, of a cascade, which, for the richness of its decorations, equals any thing of the kind ever produced; and for the limpidity of its waters, is above all comparison. Nature was much more favourable in this point to Philip the Fifth than to his grandfather. The mountains which tower above his palace send forth in abundance the water which feeds the numerous fountains, and invigorates the plants in his superb gardens: they are a league in circumference, and the inequality of the ground exhibits new scenes at every step. The principal alleys answer to the various summits of the neighbouring mountains, one of which in particular produces a most pleasing effect; it opens perpendicularly to one of the sides of the principal façade; and from this point are seen at once five fountains adorned with exquisite groups of figures, rising into an amphitheatre, the crown of which is formed by one of the mountains. The highest of these groups is that of Andromeda chained to a rock. When closely inspected it is perhaps defective, the rock appearing insignificant compared to the monster which menaces Andromeda, and Perseus who is attacking it; but upon the

whole it contributes to the beauty of the perspective. The most remarkable of these five groups is certainly that of Neptune; genius seems to have presided over its composition, and the choice of the situation. The God of Ocean is standing, surrounded by his marine court. His attitude, his menacing air, and the direction of his trident, shew that he is imposing silence on the boisterous waves; and the calm which reigns on the water, the tranquillity which is produced in the air by the triple wall of verdure with which he is surrounded, announce that he has not issued his mandates in vain. How often have I sat, with Virgil in my hand, on the margin of these tranquil waters, and under the shade of their verdant architecture, repeated the famous *Quos ego!*

There are some other fountains which well merit the attention of the curious: such is the fountain of Latona, where limpid streams, some perpendicular, others crossing in every direction, issue from the hoarse throats of the peasants of Lycia, half transformed into frogs, and are discharged in such abundance that the statue of the goddess is concealed from view by one vast mantle of liquid crystal. Of this description also is Diana bathing, surrounded by her nymphs: in the twinkling of an eye the whole chaste assemblage is concealed beneath the

water; you imagine that you hear the shrieking of the aquatic birds, and the roaring of the lions, who vomit forth by a hundred channels, this transitory deluge. Such is, lastly, the fountain of Fame: it is formed of a single *jet d'eau*, which rising 132 feet, displays to the distance of several leagues, the efforts of art to subdue nature, and falls in gentle dew upon the astonished spectators.

In some particular spots of the gardens of St. Ildefonso the stranger may catch a view of a great part of these fountains at once; he stops with the most ravishing delight upon a platform which is above the principal cascade, and which faces the king's apartments. Two saloons of verdure have been made here; if you look from hence through certain openings formed in the foliage, you will perceive, when the waters are playing, twenty crystal columns rising as high as the trees which surround you, mixing their sparkling white with the verdure of the groves, uniting their noise with the rustling of the trees, and cooling the air which you breathe: and if you ascend towards the great reservoir of these abundant and limpid waters, after having traversed a superb parterre, and climbed a pretty steep declivity for a few minutes, you arrive at a long and broad alley which occupies the whole of the upper part of the gardens. From the midst of this alley, on turning towards the palace, an immense and boundless hori-

zon meets the eye. The vast gardens which we have just visited have shrunk into nothing; alleys, parterres, and fountains, have all disappeared. We have now nothing before us but a road, which, under the form of a vessel, in the prow of which we are placed, has its poop represented by the royal palace. From the same point, if we look behind, we perceive a small lake, the irregular contours of which are not like our English gardens, confined to an awkward imitation of the charming irregularities of nature; it is nature herself. The alley from which we enjoy this spectacle joins the two ends of the curve embraced by the reservoir. The waters flowing from the sides of the woody mountain in front; these waters, whose distant murmurings alone interrupt the silence which reigns around, unite in this small lake, and descend from it by a thousand invisible pipes into other reservoirs, from which they are again forced out in a thousand different forms to refresh the flowery soil. The waters of the lake, always limpid, and seldom agitated, faithfully reflect the images of the surrounding woods, and of some straggling houses, built as if by chance under their shade. The rivulets which feed this principal reservoir were once lost in the vallies, without affording profit or pleasure; but by the assistance of art they have become both agreeable and useful. After having ascended the pyramidal

mountain whence these waters derive their source, we reach the wall inclosing the garden; which was before concealed by the thick foliage of the trees placed in front. Nothing here impresses the mind with an idea of exclusive property: the woods, the waters, and the majestic solitude of the mountains, are beauties which belong to the whole community.

These rivulets departing from the grand reservoir, are conducted from one platform of the garden to another by channels, some of which are subterraneous and others above ground. Here they hastily water the roots of the trees which they pass in their course; there they traverse an alley and bathe more slowly the flowery ornaments of a parterre. From the basin of Andromeda they flow in greater abundance, between two rows of trees, in a deep and dismal channel, the too rapid slope of which is retarded by cascades and windings. At length, after having traversed the garden in every direction, after having sported in the midst of gods and nymphs, moistened the throats of tritons, lions, and swans, they humbly disappear below the ground, but again emerge in order to water the adjacent vallies.

I should never conclude, were I to enumerate all the statues and groups, and cascades which decorate the gardens of St. Ildefonso. I shall therefore merely observe that, with a few exceptions, all the articles of sculpture are the work

of French artists of the second rank, such as *Fermin* and *Thierry,* sent by Louis the Fourteenth to his grandson, and their pupils, who were even inferior to themselves. They have displayed more claims to magnificence than to taste in the square of *Las ocho calles.* Eight alleys terminate, the one end at this centre, and the other at one of the cascades dispersed throughout the gardens. Clumps of verdure occupy the intervals between the alleys, and against each interval is placed under an arcade of white marble, the altar of a god or goddess, each of whom presides over a basin. These eight altars are decorated with several *jets-d'eau,* and among the rest with two which rise perpendicularly from the two sides of the divinity, and have a ridiculous resemblance to the two tapers on a Roman Catholic altar. This cold regularity displeased Philip the Fifth, who upon visiting his gardens a short time before his death, reproached the inventor of the designs in strong language. This prince had not the satisfaction to witness the completion of his plans. He died in 1746, when every thing was but in an imperfect state.

This palace was the most expensive undertaking of his reign. The finances of Spain, so much dilapidated during the Austrian dynasty, would have been sufficient, in consequence of the wise plans of Orry, to have subsidised France, and above all to have assisted the courageous efforts of the Castilians; they would have been sufficien

for three long and ruinous wars; for all the expences of a monarchy which Philip the Sixth had conquered and partly regenerated;—they would have resisted the attacks of ambition, and the machinations of politics: but they were doomed to sink under the ill judged efforts of magnificence. Sovereigns of other countries, learn from this example, that your glory, and even your disasters, sometimes cost your subjects much less than your pleasures! Will it be believed that Philip the Fifth expended forty-five millions of piastres in building the castle and laying out the gardens of St. Ildefonso; and that this was the precise amount of his debts at the period of his demise: an enormous sum, indeed, but it will not appear exaggerated when it is considered, that the spot occupied by the palace was, at the beginning of last century, a rugged and broken mass of rock; that it was dug out and levelled in several places, and a hundred channels cut through it; that earth capable of vegetation, was brought to every part where it was designed to substitute a luxuriant cultivation for the natural sterility of the place; and that the rocks were to be blown up to make room for the roots of the trees every where planted in the greatest profusion. So many exertions combined could not fail of commanding in a certain degree the desired success; in the orchards, kitchen gardens, and parterres, there are

few flowers, few espaliers, few plants, but what have prospered; but the trees, which from their nature are destined to attain great height, and whose roots consequently strike deep into the ground, already attest the insufficiency of art when struggling against nature. The slender roots of some of these trees being unable to supply the necessary moisture to the trunk, they expose their almost naked branches as objects of regret, and every year the assistance of gun-powder is called in to hollow out new beds for those which are brought hither to supply their places: none of them are covered with that beautiful foliage, which is to be seen on those only for which a factitious soil has not been created. In a word, in the groves of St. Ildefonso are to be found marble statues, cascades, basins, fountains, limpid and abundant waters, picturesque situations, and every thing that art can supply, but the principal charm, especially in a sultry climate, that of umbrageous foliage, is wanting.

On the death of Philip the Fifth, the palace of St. Ildefonso was abandoned by the court of Spain. His second wife, Isabella Farnese, was the only person belonging to the royal family who remained there, and during the whole of the thirteen years which his successor, Ferdinand the Seventh, occupied the Spanish throne, this singular woman led a most retired and quiet life within the apartments of the palace, having ne-

ver once left them, or at least having never been out of the gardens. This fact, strange as it may appear, has been attested by several of the persons who attended her in this retreat. Her day she divided in the most extraordinary manner, sitting up only at night: lost as it were to the world and to all its enjoyments, her principal care seemed to be the preservation of her health, and to prepare herself for a participation in eternal felicity. Her son Charles the Third, then King of Naples, having however ascended the throne of Spain in 1759, the dormant flame of ambition, which had but slumbered in her bosom, rekindled at the news; she quitted her solitude, re-appeared at court, and maintained over her son, to the end of her life, an influence as unbounded as that she had formerly exercised over Philip the Fifth, the weakest perhaps of sovereigns or of husbands.

The new king inherited the partiality of his father for the residence of St. Ildefonso, and throughout the whole of his reign, the court sought in the enjoyment of its refreshing shade, a refuge against the intense heat of the dog-days. It generally repaired hither towards the end of July, and returned to Madrid in the beginning of October. The palace is situated upon the slope of the mountains which separate the two Castiles, in front of a vast plain, open at all points to the north winds, and this circumstance renders it a delightful re-

treat during the hottest months of summer. Here the morning and evening breezes even of a sultry day are cool and refreshing, and the tops of the neighbouring mountains are covered with snow during the greater part of the year. St. Ildefonso, however, being upwards of twenty leagues distant from Madrid, and one half of the road (that which begins at Guadarama) a tedious and winding course through a thick cluster of rugged and barren mountains, can only be considered as valuable in the estimation of sportsmen and those who delight in solitude. The present queen of Spain, while princess of Asturias, entertained an aversion to this palace, which she expressed, on all occasions; and Charles the Fourth, her husband, having ascended the throne in 1789, it was imagined that St. Ildefonso would be entirely abandoned. During the five first years of the reign of this prince indeed the court never removed thither, the king contenting himself with a short visit from time to time. This repugnance, however, gradually subsided; the delightful climate of St. Ildefonso regained its reputation, and the visits of the royal family have become as frequent as formerly. The court was there on my first introduction to it in the year 1775; and there I saw it for the last time in 1792; succeeding events having prevented my again appearing there in my public capacity until the period of my depar-

ture, which was the signal for hostilities between the two countries*.

The most brilliant period in the annals of this palace may be said to have been in the year 1782, when two French princes, the Count d'Artois and the Count de Bourbon paid a visit to the reigning sovereign Charles the Third, on their way to assist at the siege of Gibraltar. Since the house of Bourbon had ascended the throne of Spain, this was the first interview which had taken place with any of the princes of the blood-royal of France. The old monarch who was not a stranger to the feelings of nature, displayed in this happy meeting all the benevolence of his disposition, as well as the magnificence of his court. He shewed his relatives the most delicate attentions, which seemed so

* It may not perhaps be amiss to add in this place the short poetical description of St. Ildefonso, drawn by Delille, in the last edition of his "*Jardins*" (canto 1.) when describing the beauties of this delightful residence.

Toi, surtout, Ildefonse, et tes fraiches délices.
Là ne sont point ces eaux dont les sources factices,
Se fermant tout à coup, par leur morne repos
Attristent le bocage et trompent les échos.
Sans cesse résonnant dans ces jardins superbes,
D'intarissables eaux, en colonnes, en gerbes,
S'élancent, fendent l'air de leurs rapides jets,
Et des monts paternels égalent les sommets:
Lieu superbe où Philippe, avec magnificence,
Défiait son ayeul et retraçait la France.

foreign to the simplicity of his manners. The Count d'Artois and all his suite, were lodged in the palace, and the whole of the king's household was at the command of the young prince. Care was taken to surround his person with such of the nobility of Spain, whose manners and language might recal to his mind at least an imperfect image of the court he had so recently quitted. In a word, the attentions they received were unbounded, yet did not impose the smallest restraint upon the royal guests, who were left at liberty to follow their own inclinations, an indulgence every way more gratifying than the vain homage of courtly parade. Charles the Third, accustomed to lead a very regular life, had apportioned to various exercises and duties almost every moment of his time. Hunting, fishing, the performance of religious duties, and the transaction of business with his ministers, were all attended to with that scrupulous punctuality which the courtiers had been long accustomed to observe. The duke de Bourbon who had been introduced under the title of Count Dammartin, was treated with less ceremony indeed, but with equal kindness. Young and inexperienced, strangers to the etiquette of the court of Spain, the two princes felt the necessity and advantage of some person who was capable of instructing them, and therefore put themselves under the superintendence of

the Count de Montmorin, at that time ambassador from France. This nobleman had been my benefactor; but alas! he perished by the hands of those cannibals who disgraced the first stages of the Revolution. The spirit of party, so prevalent at that moment, may have led him into errors; duty and inclination however compel me to look only at his misfortunes, and I am incapable of denying him that tribute of affection and gratitude which I have more than once paid him during his prosperity. In my mind the misfortunes of this nobleman have rendered the duty of doing him justice on my part doubly sacred. I shall therefore, without hesitation assert, that during the six years of his embassy in Spain, he proved, what the Spaniards might perhaps have been inclined to doubt, that a Frenchman also can possess gravity without pedantry, wisdom without austerity, dignity without pride, and prudence without timidity. He was treated by the king and royal family with a regard which he merited; he well knew how to conciliate the confidence of the ministers, the consideration of the grandees, and the esteem of the nation; and notwithstanding a certain coldness of manner, few persons approached him who did not retire from his presence with a favourable impression of his character.

There is no court in Europe where the ambassadors and foreign ministers appear so much in

public as in that of Spain. During the reign of Charles the Third, they were even subjected to the most fatiguing attendance especially the ambassadors of the family.* They were expected to attend the court on its journies to St. Ildefonso, the Escurial and Aranjuez. They appeared regularly at the tables of the king and royal family, and had even daily an audience of his majesty before dinner, and immediately afterwards all the foreign ministers were admitted for a few minutes into his closet: at present they appear at the palace only twice in a week. Charles the Fourth, more simple in his manners than even his father, has dispensed with many of the useless and unnecessary ceremonies of the court, although his life is remarkable for the same regularity and the same uniformity. He is as passionately fond of the chase as his predecessor; but he has rendered it much less injurious to the neighbourhood of his residence. He has also other predilections; a taste for the fine arts; a love of agriculture, which will be shewn in our account of Aranjuez: a partiality for athletic exercises, for which he is peculiarly adapted by his robust constitution; and a fondness for music, with which both the queen and himself indulge them-

* These were, at that period, the French and Neapolitan ambassadors.

selves in select parties every evening on returning from the chase, and after having transacted the business of the day with one of his ministers. The present court of Spain, therefore, as may be naturally inferred from the disposition of the monarch, is but seldom engaged in public diversions.

Let it not however be imagined, that although the business of the court is conducted with so much regularity, although it even appears solitary, it is destitute of magnificence. Charles the third, a widower since the year 1761, dined alone, but always in public, and surrounded by his officers: the present king dines in company with his consort. They are each attended by the grand chamberlain of their household, the grand almoner, the captain of the guards on duty, and an exempt of the guards; their table is served by two gentlemen of the chamber, who are grandees of Spain, one of whom has the care of the table, while the other, upon one knee, serves his Majesty with drink. The same honours are paid to the queen by the ladies of the palace, and to the infants and infantas by the nobility attached to their establishment. This degrading homage may excite the indignation of philosophy, but it is not peculiar to the court of Spain: it will be found in Vienna, where the royal family are treated with the same respect; and even in London, where the authority of the

king is so much circumscribed in other respects. In the number of its gala days, the court of Spain is prodigal, and on these occasions the nobility display the utmost magnificence. There are two sorts, denominated grand and common galas. During the reign of Charles the Third, ten grand gala days were every year held at court, in honour of the king's birth-day and coronation, the birth-days of the prince and princess of Asturias, and of the king and queen of Naples, the one as the son, the other as daughter-in-law of the sovereign. At present there are only eight: four for the king and queen, and four for the prince and princess of Asturias. The common galas, which are also called *demi-galas,* are held in honour of the other princes and princesses of the blood-royal, and are at present twenty-two in number. These galas require but little alteration in the dress of those who attend them; but at grand galas, every person, with the exception of the prince or princess in whose honour they are given, must display the utmost magnificence in his apparel. Every officer belonging to the court, from the grand chamberlain to those who possess the meanest employment, must on these occasions be dressed in the habit appertaining to their respective offices; hence the appellation *galas con uniforme,* which has generally been bestowed upon them. In the morning of these court days, all those who have any

connection with the court, either as attached to the palace or by their civil or military functions, officers of every rank, the superior clergy, with whom certain monks are always to be seen, assemble in the drawing-room, pass in succession before the king and the rest of the royal family, and dropping on one knee kiss their hands. This homage is considered as a renewal of the oath of allegiance, and on other occasions is paid to the sovereign to return thanks for a favour conferred, or at taking leave on being appointed to execute any commission.

Republicans who are not philosophers, or even philosophers who may not be republicans, will smile perhaps at these grave *minutiæ*: yet it will not be altogether useless to describe them. They furnish an additional clue to the knowledge of the human heart, its pride and its weakness. Humiliations such as these, which without assuming an unnecessary degree of haughtiness, may be considered as degrading by those who undergo them, will not appear to be so revolting when it is recollected, that our ancient heroes did not disdain to kneel on receiving the honour of knighthood, and that in our own days the same ceremony is every where observed. A custom still more singular prevails at the court of Spain, by which the ladies, even of the most distinguished rank, are obliged to kiss not only the hand of the sovereign, but that of all his chil-

dren, of whatever sex or age; and however ridiculous the practice may appear, the most elegant duchess is sometimes seen keeling before an infant at the breast, pressing with her rosy lips the hand, mechanically extended or withdrawn, from this premature homage.

I must observe, however, that the laws of etiquette appear in some measure to have been relaxed in favour of the ladies; and that if the gentlemen perform the ceremony of kissing hands *(besamanos)* in public, the ladies go through it in a private apartment; and none but those who immediately belong to the palace are required to observe this custom with the whole of the royal family. This compliment is paid only to the queen and the princess of Asturias, by the grandees who have no place at court, and by all females who are styled *titled ladies.* This term must not be taken in the sense formerly attached to it in France, and will necessarily lead to some observations on the titles and dignities of the court of Spain.*

* Readers of more than ordinary severity may perhaps consider the details entered into on this subject as at least superfluous. I can freely permit the philosopher to receive them with a smile of disdain, but my book is not addressed alone to him, and there is doubtless a numerous class of readers to whom these observations will not be displeasing. A publication which should be interesting to every class of men must be very

Till of late the appellation of *princes of the blood,** was wholly unknown in Spain. Next to the infants, infantas, sons, grandsons, or nephews of the sovereign, come the grandees of Spain; and the dukes of Medina Celi, the immediate and legitimate descendants of the infants of La Cerda, and consequently of royal

short indeed, nor could even the most celebrated works undergo this ordeal. In the work of Raynal, for instance, of what importance to merchants are the philosophical declamations which have immortalized his name? and what interest will the rest of the world take in the calculations with which his book is filled? In the immortal works of Montesquieu, profound reasoners are of opinion that epigrammatic points are too prevalent; while women and frivolous readers would willingly dispense with his learned dissertation upon the establishment of the Franks in Gaul.

* Till very lately, there has been no example (and indeed this is observed in a subsequent passage) of gentlemen of Spanish origin having borne the title of prince. There are, it is true, at this moment several persons of quality in the service of the king of Spain who are called princes; such as the princes of Castelfranco, Masserano, Monforte, &c. but all of them are Italians, or of Italian origin. The two children male and female of the unequal match contracted by the infant Don Louis, in 1775, with the approbation of his brother Charles the Third, seem to have produced a new question. Legitimate beyond a possibility of doubt, ought they to be considered as junior branches of the royal house? This difficulty has been fortunately removed. The son has become an ecclesiastic, and has been for some years archbishop of Toledo and Seville, and a cardinal. His sister is married to the Prince of the Peace.

origin, are considered merely as grandees of Spain. These personages are divided into three classes, in which there is so slight a shade of difference, that it is scarcely worth mentioning. All grandees, to what class soever they belong, bear the title of *Excellence*, and have a right to appear covered in the presence of the king. When a grandee passes through the guard-room, a stamp with the foot is a signal to the centinel on duty to carry arms. To these marks of respect are the privileges of the grandees reduced, no other honours being paid to their quality. They do not form a distinct body, as did formerly the dukes and peers of France. It would appear that their kings, unable to deprive this order of their hereditary dignity, had determined to hold its members in complete subjection, and to keep them dependent on the royal favour for all further honours.

None of the places at court are exclusively filled by grandees, except perhaps those of grand-master, and master of the horse; that of *Sumiller de Cors* (a place similar to that of grand chamberlain), and the post of captain of the halberdiers: and even these places, like most of the others, are usually granted at the king's pleasure. There are but few situations about the court, which as a matter of course entitle the possessor to nobility.

The gentlemen of the chamber *(gentilhommes de la chambre avec exercice)* are for the most part grandees; but there are also some who are people of quality although not noble. Indeed none of the latter are attached either to the person of the sovereign, or of the heir-apparent; the queen and the princess of Asturias can only be served by grandees of Spain.

The queen is attended in the interior of the palace by a number of young ladies of distinguished though poor families, called *cameristas*.

With respect to the nobility of both sexes, who hold places about the person of the king and queen, and the prince and princess of Asturias, they are taken indiscriminately from any of the three classes. Many of the individuals of the most ancient and honourable families, who belong only to the third class of nobility, are nevertheless equally respected. Philip the Fifth, who created a great number of grandees, did not confer a single title of the second or third class. He had long struggled to obtain a throne, his right to which had been disputed not only by foreign powers, but also by a great proportion of his future subjects; and when at length he obtained possession of the kingdom, and consequently the power of conferring honour and dignities, he distributed them among his adherents as rewards for the signal services they had rendered him whether military or

political, and no doubt he thought himself bound to proportion his acknowledgments to the importance of those services: or perhaps, the lofty dignity which he had brought from Versailles to Madrid, induced him to believe, that it would derogate from his greatness, if those who had the honour of being employed in his service should not all at once obtain the most illustrious rank. Whatever were the motives of this prince, he was imitated by Ferdinand the Sixth: but Charles the Third revived an almost imaginary and nearly obsolete distinction, by creating in the latter promotions among his nobility several grandees of the second class.

The prerogative of wearing the hat in the presence of the sovereign is not enjoyed by all the nobility until after they have been presented at court, or have attended the king upon some public ceremony: the distinction indeed does not belong to them exclusively; they share it with the nuncios of the pope, ambassadors of the family, and some heads of religious orders, who, while they retain their dignities, enjoy also the title of *Excellence,* and are, from these two circumstances on a level with the grandees of Spain. Thus there is not a single invention of human vanity that the humility of the clergy has not sanctioned by appropriating it to themselves.

There are also titles of nobility which become extinct on the death of the possessor: and some

persons obtain these dignities for themselves and their descendants. These grants confer upon the parties the title of *Excellence,* but not the right to remain covered in the presence of the king. A still greater distinction observable in the different classes of nobility, which has its foundation not in law, but what is sometimes much more imperious, custom, is that which is made by the grandees of ancient families between themselves and those of more modern or less illustrious extraction. The first use the word *thou* to each other on all occasions, whatever may be the difference of their age, or the places which they occupy. I have frequently heard certain grandees belonging to this class, still very young, and who had not yet risen to the rank of colonels, employ this term of apparent familiarity in speaking to the war minister, who was then a grandee of Spain. They would have respectfully given him the title of *Excellence,* if his extraction had been less illustrious. They used the word *thou* to him, because, by his birth, he was on a level with themselves: another proof of this trivial, though undoubted truth—*that extremes meet.* An insurmountable aversion to every kind of distinction, and the desire of levelling all ranks, induced the French at the commencement of the revolution to adopt, even to command the use of the second person singular: with the grandees of Spain this mode

of expression has become the most subtle distinction which could have been invented by vanity, and they have placed it at the summit of the pyramid of nobility: but these privileged orders are not very prodigal of this honourable familiarity. In their conversation, and in their epistolary correspondence with those whom they do not consider as their equals, they give and exact very ceremoniously the title of *Excellence*. These new grandees of Spain study to obtain the honour of being *thou'd* as they would the greatest favour, and if they finally succeed, it becomes for them a matter of triumph. Of this I witnessed a striking example during my first residence in Spain. The old duke de Losada, at that time *Sumillar de Cors*, and who was perhaps the only true friend Charles the Third could ever boast of, had accompanied him in his youth, when he left Madrid to take possession of the duchy of Parma, and afterwards of the kingdom of Naples. He was then of the ordinary rank of nobility only, but was subsequently loaded with dignities and made a grandee. Returning afterwards to Madrid with the same prince, upon his accession to the crown of Spain, it was with great difficulty, notwithstanding all the favour he enjoyed, that he succeeded in causing himself to be *thou'd* by the grandees of ancient standing. The monarch himself, in order to carry this point, was obliged to interpose, not his authority, for

that would have been unavailing, but the solicitations of friendship. In other circumstances, this distinction is sometimes spontaneously granted by the most distinguished grandees to the offspring of some illustrious houses, who have not as yet received the honour of *grandezza*, though they think themselves entitled to it, and who are designated, by the epithet of *casas agraviadas, oppressed families.*

The sovereign and his family use the pronoun *thou* to all their subjects who approach their persons; it is at the same time a token of good-will and of superiority. Every distinction disappears in their presence, and Spaniards of every denomination, of whatever station, age, or sex, grandees, magistrates, prelates, women, young or old, are all *thou'd* by the royal family; and they would think themselves almost disgraced if these august personages were to address them by those honorary titles to which their birth or their rank give them a claim.

Nobility in Spain is hereditary in the female, as well as the male line, provided the letters of creation do not formally express the contrary. Several titles may be united in one person, without however adding any thing to his dignity. There are families who, by intermarriages with the heiresses of grandees, have accumulated even ten or twelve *hats*, the style in which the dignity of grandees is designated by the vul-

gar; but the heads of these families do not possess the power of distributing these honours among their children: the law of primogeniture universally obtains. There are but very few families where the second son enjoys a title. The eldest sons of grandees receive the honorary distinction of *Excellence*, but younger brothers do not, and merely bear the family name, preceded by their christian names,* in the same way as in England the brother of Lord Chatham was styled William Pitt, and the brother of Lord Holland, Charles Fox.

This observation ought not to be lost sight of by a stranger who does not wish to be deceived by the words *count* and *marquis*, several grandees of Spain bearing no other titles. That of duke is not even illustrious. The king gives it at pleasure when he confers the honour of nobility even of the second class, of which there are some recent examples: the patent is only a little more expensive.

The title of prince until lately was peculiar to the heir apparent. The duke de la Alcudia, who, upon the signing of the peace with the French republic, was denominated *Prince de la*

* In this way the brother of count de Fuentes, a grandee of Spain, who was ambassador in France, was styled Don Ramon Pignatelli; and the brother of the duke de Ucèda, simply bears the name of Don Manuel Pacheco, although personally filling one of the highest offices at court.

Paz, presents the first example of a Spaniard having received this title from the king. Is it to the importance of the service which he rendered to his country that we are to ascribe this departure from the general rule? or is the favourite of a prince always sure to attain the summit of his wishes in defiance of law and custom?

In the order of titled nobility there existed formerly a kind of hierarchy. In the lower rank were placed the *barons* (who are not to be confounded with the ancient *varones*) still to be met with in some provinces, and especially in Arragon. The *viscounts* follow, then the *counts,* and last of all the *marquises.* Originally it was indispensable that a person should have been a viscount before he could attain the rank of a marquis of *Castile.* But all these distinctions have disappeared, and individuals, even of common families, now obtain the rank of counts and marquises without having passed through the intermediate gradations; for it must not be supposed that all these titled gentlemen are grandees. There are many titles well known in Spain by the appellation of *titulos,* or *Castilian titles;* but these titles prove only the good-will of the sovereign, who has thus chosen to reward some important service. The person ennobled has the option to take his title either from his estate, or from his family name, and sometimes a designation is added to distinguish the service thus recompensed. It was in this manner that Philip the Fifth

rewarded admiral Navarro, who commanded the Spanish squadron at the battle of Toulon, who was named *Marques de la Vittoria*, and thus the person who carried Charles III. in 1759, from Naples to Barcelona, was called *Marques del Real Transporte*. In this way also, during the preceding reign, Galvez, the minister of the Indies, assumed the title of *Marques de la Sonora*, from the name of a colony which he had organized, and secured from the incursions of the savages: and a magistrate, named Garrasco, received the title of *Marques de la Corona*, as a recompence for services rendered to the crown in recovering some lands which had been unjustly withheld. Similar to this, also, is the practice of some Spanish grandees, who add to these titles names commemorative of some glorious or important achievement in which they had the principal share. The duke de Crillon, who had taken Mahon, added the name of that fortress to his other titles. Of this description also is the title of the *Prince of the Peace*, who is indebted for this distinction, as already mentioned, to the most important, and perhaps the most fortunate act of his administration. These honorary dignities have something noble, or, if I may be allowed the expression, something Roman in their object; and if they sometimes flow from the caprices of fortune, they proceed less than other rewards, perhaps, from mere favouritism.

The titles of Castile confer on those possessing them, and their wives, the title of lord and lady, *Vuestra Señoria*, which by contraction is converted into *Ussia*. They would be shocked were these appellations to be denied them on occasions of ceremony; but they have rarely the vanity to exact them, or even to permit them to be used by their equals in the ordinary intercourse of society. Their inferiors, however, are prodigal of these titles when addressing them, for it cannot be denied that all ranks have their parasites; those, however, who are most particular in paying them this petty honour, are the persons who enjoy the title of *Excellency*, and who are fond of having their own ears tickled with it in return.

There is an intermediate title between this last and that of Lord, being the appellation of most illustrious lordship, *ussia illustrissima*; it is bestowed on archbishops, bishops, and other principal members of the council of Castile and of the Indies, called *Camaristras*, and on the presidents of the two supreme tribunals, called *Cancellarias*. Not only is there no revenue attached to the dignity of grandees of Spain, or to the titles of *counts and marquisses of Castile*, but they are never even bestowed gratuitously. Those who obtain them pay a fine, known by the name of *demi annates*, unless it is formally dispensed with. The demi annates paid by grandees of Spain, amount to about

25,000 livres. This fine is higher or lower according to the degree of affinity of the person succeeding to the title. There is another tax annually paid by the grandees of Spain under the denomination of *lanzas*. This is a faint vestige of the military service formerly rendered by the great vassals of the crown, who were required to furnish a certain number of lances. Grandees who are not natives of Spain are exempt from this contribution.

By an arrangement agreed upon between the courts of Madrid and Versailles, since the house of Bourbon filled the two thrones, the grandees of Spain were put on a level with the dukes and peers of France, but the equalization of these dignities was not accomplished without strong opposition on the part of the former. In the beginning of the reign of Philip V. when this question was in agitation, the duke of Arcos, in the name of the grandees of Spain, declared that they considered their dignity as compromised by an assimilation with the peers of France. At their own court, he said, the grandees had between them and the throne only the son of their sovereign, while the peers of France yielded precedency to the princes of the blood, to illegitimate sons and foreign princes; nay, even to those who, although descendants of sovereigns, were in the service of France, such as the dukes

of Lorraine, Bouillon, &c. The grandees, on the contrary, formed the first order in Spain immediately after the royal family. He quoted examples of kings of Spain, and even of emperors, who had treated them as on an equality with Italian and German princes. He proved, that the grandees had always been considered on a level with the princes of sovereign houses if they were not royal; that when the courts of France and Spain had named representatives, and those of France were princes of the blood, those of Spain were grandees, and each party treated the other upon a footing of perfect equality. From all these proofs the duke of Arcos concluded that the dignity of grandee of Spain equalled that of the princes of the blood in France, and was superior to that of the peers.

This conclusion was not relished by Philip, who had imbibed a taste for despotism at the court of his grandfather. Without giving any reply, he sent word to the duke of Arcos that he would do well to signalize his zeal with the army in Flanders. The duke obeyed, and upon his return, on passing through Paris, he was the first to relinquish the claim he had set up: he paid the princes of the blood the first visit, bestowed upon them the title of *highness* without receiving it in return, gave the dukes and peers the title of *excellency* without exacting any thing

higher for himself; and thus the claims of the grandees vanished for ever.

The number of grandees in Spain increases daily, that dignity having been conferred on several foreign noblemen; and as almost every thing loses its value in proportion as it becomes common, the repugnance formerly felt by the first class of nobility to their being placed on a level with dukes and peers has gradually subsided: not, however, because the Spanish grandees, who can trace their dignity back to the reign of Charles V. have ceased to think themselves superior to the rest; as in Germany, the princes of ancient houses assume a superiority over those who have been created by Ferdinand II. and his successors; but because this difference, which vanity cherishes in silence, has no existence in the public opinion, and particularly in that of the sovereign.

To conclude, these grandees, although perhaps a little haughty in their pretensions, are in general affable and condescending. They are far from possessing that *hauteur* ascribed to them throughout Europe: many of them, on the contrary, substitute all the exteriors of politeness for that repulsive dignity so often assumed by the great lords in other courts. This does not, however, arise from the want of what, though it cannot justify, may at least excuse a haughty

demeanor, exalted situations, illustrious rank, or immense fortunes. In this last respect they may claim pre-eminence over the most opulent in any other country, and particularly France, even before the revolution. With the exception of the princes of the blood, there were not in France any fortunes to be compared with those of the duke de Medina Celi, the duke of Alba, the duke d'Ossuna, count Altamira, and the duke de l'Infantado: but the style in which they live rarely keeps pace with their riches. They do not ruin themselves by elegant houses, villas, entertainments, or English gardens; splendor in dress and furniture is almost totally unknown among them: their luxury is more obscure, but perhaps not the less expensive on that account. Numerous studs of mules, rich liveries which are exhibited but five or six times a year, an astonishing multitude of domestics, are the chief articles of expence among them. The management of their affairs is also expensive: they have stewards, treasurers, and offices, arranged like those of petty sovereigns. They maintain not only those servants, who have grown old in their employment, but even the domestics of their fathers, and those belonging to the persons whose estates they inherit, and also provide for the subsistence of their whole families.

The duke of Arcos, who died in 1780, maintained in this way 3000 persons. This magnificence thus covered by the veil of charity, has more than one inconvenience: it encourages idleness, and brings along with it a profusion, the ramifications of which are so minutely subdivided as to elude the strictest vigilance. Notwithstanding these causes of disorder, however, fewer great houses are ruined in Spain than in any other country. The simplicity of their manners, their dislike to habitual ostentation, the infrequency of sumptuous entertainments, all contribute to prevent a derangement of their finances. But when they are inclined to imitate the great personages of other courts, they yield to none in point of splendor: a convincing proof of this is afforded in the magnificence which some of the grandees have displayed at foreign courts when they thought the national dignity required it. Till our own times the Spanish nobility have but rarely endeavoured to distinguish themselves in the different pursuits which were open to their ambition. In the beginning of last century, when they were divided between the two princes who were competitors for the throne, their passions, roused into activity, produced a display of exertions and of talents, which were not indeed always consecrated to that cause which success had rendered

the best, but proved, at least, that the latter reigns of the Austrian dynasty had not completely paralysed their faculties. A torpor of half a century succeeded this transitory fermentation.

Under the reign of Charles III. however, they awoke from their lethargy, and endeavoured to prove that subjects of the most illustrious rank are not always the most useless members of the state. They began eagerly to embrace the profession of arms, which, till then, had but few charms for them, as this service imposes much greater restraints on courtiers than it did in France. At present, out of one hundred lieutenant-generals, there are about twenty grandees; and the general, count de la Union, who, after several defeats perished gloriously in the field of honour fighting against France, was also of this class. In the diplomatic career, during the reign of Charles III. they could boast of some distinguished characters; among others, count d'Aranda, whose loss is still deplored; count de Fernan-Nuñez, who died at the moment when peace would have again brought him into France; the duke de Villahermosa, &c.

Some years ago the duke d'Ossuna, was appointed ambassador to the court of Vienna, and the duke del Parque to that of Petersburgh, but their nomination was not carried into effect. At

this moment only three grandees of Spain are employed abroad: the count de Campo-Alange, ambassador at Lisbon; the prince de Castel Franco at Vienna; and the duke de Frias at London; the first of these was but lately raised to the rank of grandee, and the second is a Neapolitan lord.

Until lately, the ambassador to the court of France has been uniformly a grandee of Spain, and generally been invested with the order of the Holy Ghost. The last five ambassadors from Spain previous to the storms of the revolution, were the duke of Alba, don Jaymes Massones (of the house of Sotomayor), count de Fuentes, count d'Aranda, and count de Fernan-Nuñez. The latter was obliged to leave France before the object of his mission was accomplished. Since the renewal of a good understanding between the two countries, we have successively seen the embassy from Spain filled by the marquis del Campo, who had been ambassador at London, after having been long at the head of the office for foreign affairs; the chevalier Azara, who had been previously known at Paris as an enlightened character, and an accomplished statesman, and who died in 1804; admiral Gravina, a Sicilian of an illustrious family, who was prematurely recalled to Spain by the exigencies of his adoptive country,

to the great regret of all who knew him in France; and who, in 1805, was replaced by the prince de Masserano, a grandee of Spain of the first class, but of Italian origin.

The grandees of Spanish extraction are therefore, in general, but little employed out of their own country. It even appears to have long been one of the secret principles of the court, never to entrust the Spanish grandees with places of great power, and that, except in particular cases, this principle has been seldom departed from. There is scarcely an example of one of the vice-royalties of America, which for pomp, influence, and authority, are equivalent to real sovereignties, and for the means of enriching the holders, legally or illegally, are equal to the most lucrative offices under any government; it is, I say, almost without example, that so important a post has been confided to a grandee of Spain, whether it be that the throne has always dreaded this accumulation of wealth and power; or else, that the sovereigns of Spain have been unwilling to send from home, those who contribute to that splendor with which they are surrounded.

There are also very few individuals of this description in the church, the dignities of which are not, as in other countries, the exclusive patrimony of great families. The only eccle-

siastical dignity, at present, held by a Spanish grandee, is that of the patriarch of the Indies, who performs the functions of grand almoner at the court of Madrid. This place keeps him by whom it is filled constantly about the person of the sovereign.* No other grandees continue near the person of the king except those in actual employment; all the rest are stationary at Madrid, which they leave but for short intervals when they go to court. A few only reside in the capitals of the provinces: I never knew any who lived constantly on their estates.

The rank of grandee is not distinguished by any exterior mark; those grandees who are gentlemen of the bedchamber carry a gold key, like the lords of the bedchamber of other countries. Besides the order of Malta, there are six orders of knighthood in Spain, but none to which the grandees have an exclusive right. The most distinguished order is that of the Golden Fleece, founded by Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy, and which the court of Vienna still continues to confer in conjunction with that of Madrid, although it was renounced by the former in the treaty

* The patriarch of the Indies, and grand almoner to the court for several years past, has been cardinal Sentmanat, a descendant of marquis de Castel dos Rios, who was ambassador at the court of Louis XIV., when the will of Charles II. arrived, and was the first grandee created by Philip V.

which put an end to the important contest between Philip V. and the Archduke. The number of knights of the Golden Fleece is very limited in Spain. Into no order in Europe was it more difficult to obtain admission without the essential requisite of noble blood; and it is but lately that this dignity has been conferred on some ministers of state who were not of illustrious birth.

Besides the Golden Fleece, there are four military orders in Spain, the foundation of which may be traced to the time of the Crusades; the grand masterships of these orders were united to the crown by Ferdinand the Catholic. They are denominated the orders of *Santiago, Calatrava, Monteza,* and *Alcantara.* The three first are distinguished by a red, and the last by a green ribband. To each of these orders are attached commanderies, which are conferred by the king. Santiago has eighty-seven, the highest of which is valued at upwards of 200,000 reals a year. Calatrava has fifty five, one of which produces more than 358,000 reals. Monteza has only thirteen; and Alcantara thirty-seven. The commanderies of the two last orders are much less considerable.

For a great length of time these four orders were indiscriminately conferred upon citizens of all ranks, provided they could adduce the requisite proofs. Charles III. restored them to the spirit of their primitive institution, and

limited them to military officers alone. An honorary distinction was then wanting for the rest of his subjects, which he supplied in 1771, by creating a fifth order, which bears his name, and is dedicated to the Conception of the Virgin. It consists of two classes, that of grand-crosses, and that of simple knights. The grand crosses wear as a scarf a sky-blue cordon with a white border: on days of ceremony, they are habited in a long blue and white mantle, and over this they wear a collar, the rings of which are formed of the arms of Castile and of the king alternately.

By the statutes of the order, the number of grand crosses is limited to sixty; at present there are ninety-five, including the royal family and some foreign princes. At the creation of the order they were all taken from among the grandees, with the exception of two of the grand officers of the order. A short time afterwards, the king dispensed with this law in favour of the minister of the marine, the marquis de Castajon; and at length this prince and his successor extended the exception. They have not, however, bestowed the grand order of Charles III. upon any but persons of eminence, distinguished by their services, or objects of their especial favour.

The common knights of this order ought not to exceed the number of two hundred, and they have each a pension of 4000 reals. Some

years after the institution of this order, the king of Spain granted the small cross of his order to some Frenchmen who were not included in these two hundred. He even departed, in their behalf, from the article of the statutes, which declares that it cannot be held with any foreign order.

Amidst the establishment of so many orders for the gentlemen, the fair sex was not forgotten. In the year 1792, the queen created an order named after herself, the order of *Maria Luisa*, which she conferred upon sixty ladies, mostly grandees of Spain. Favour alone seemed to have decided her in this first choice. There are now one hundred ladies, including the princesses, who are decorated with this order.

Proofs of nobility are requisite for the inferior order of Charles III., as well as for the four military orders. This may appear doubtful, however, from the facility with which they are obtained. It is true that it does not require any great efforts of intrigue to elude this law, and besides it is not difficult to establish a claim to nobility, in most of the provinces of Spain. It is sufficient if the claimant can prove that he and his ancestors have lived nobly without exercising any of the very few professions declared by the prejudices and the laws of the country to be degrading. He is then reputed of noble birth, *Hidalgo*, for in Spain they

do not acknowledge that nobility can be conferred. It has been asserted that there are whole provinces every inhabitant of which is a gentleman; but in this there is a little exaggeration. It is true that Philip II. ennobled all the Biscayans; it is also true that all the Asturians are regarded as descendants of the ancient Goths, who took refuge in the mountains of their province, and never submitted to the yoke of the Moors, and on account of this praise-worthy circumstance are considered as noble: but it would appear very absurd, if two or three hundred thousand men, distributed over a small province, were all *noble* in a rigorous acceptation of the term. If all men were of the same size, the relative terms of giants and dwarfs ought to be erased from our dictionaries: the distinction of *nobility* implies a class of commonalty much more numerous than the nobles themselves, not absurdly condemned, as in other countries, to a kind of perpetual degradation, but merely obscure inhabitants, who give way, in point of wealth or respectability, to the smaller number, forming the class of nobles. Thus it cannot be denied that Biscay and the Asturias like the rest of Europe, have their distinguished families, marked by the public esteem on account of their riches, or from having held some place of consequence in their native provinces; and whatever may be the pretensions to nobility among the ob-

scure inhabitants, these distinguished families affect a superiority, which is acknowledged at least by certain marks of deference. This acknowledgment does not prevent the individuals who make it from cherishing ideas of a kind of nobility far preferable to the chimerical nobility of blood; so that, if some fortunate occurrence places them in a high situation, they seem to think that it has only restored them to their proper sphere. Hence they are in general less insolent and less intoxicated with good fortune than most upstarts in other countries.

I have more than once remarked this distinctive trait among the inhabitants of the Asturias and Biscay, even of the lowest rank: in their behaviour they have something noble, and are much less submissive in the homage they pay, and wealth and titles inspire them with but little awe. A person in power in their estimation is merely a fortunate man, who has gained a prize in the lottery of life, in which all have tickets, the drawing of which may raise every man from his present condition in his turn: this prejudice, ridiculous as it may appear, preserves them from falling into mean actions and degrading crimes. The same observation is also more or less applicable to all the other provinces of Spain, where the *hidalgos* are numerous, and where the members of the third estate

(*pecheros*) are not distinguished by any humiliating subjection; so that nobility there excites less envy, and the desire of overthrowing the power of the nobles is less likely to become a motive of general insurrection, than in any other country.

Although the gradations which separate the nobility from the commonalty in Spain are almost imperceptible, there is nevertheless an appearance of severity displayed in exacting proofs of noble birth under certain circumstances; but even here, as well as in other countries, money and influence are at no loss to find compliant genealogists. In short, we may venture to make an observation with respect to the nobility and titles in Spain, which ought to apply to all countries, namely, the less a monarchy is limited, the more arbitrary are these distinctions, and the more fugitive are the shades of nobility. In despotic governments, even when not tyrannical, the favour of the prince forms the principal distinction among his subjects. Unlimited monarchies exercise this kind of influence in a greater or less degree: and there are few countries where the authority of the crown is more absolute than in Spain.

The ancient form of government greatly circumscribed this power, and it has been insensibly altered without being overturned. The intermediate ranks scarcely exist even in name.

The supreme councils, and that of Castile the chief of all, sometimes attempted to present remonstrances when they foresaw that certain measures would prove disastrous, or were contrary to the laws; but all the members are nominated, and may be dismissed by the king: from him alone they expect their advancement in the career of magistracy; and as the enrolment in their registers of the royal decrees is a mere formality which they have no legal means of resisting, they have not, like the parliaments of France of old, a *vis inertiæ* to oppose to the will of the sovereign.

Very lately, however, the council of Castile was consulted on a question of great importance: and the members are said to have given their opinion boldly, and as it appears, not without success.

CHAP. V.

Remains of the Cortes. Council of State. M. d'Aranda, M. Florida Blanca, and the present Ministers. Official departments.

The Cortes would be the only rampart capable of resisting the eruptions of despotism. It is well known how much influence this sort of States-general once had over all the great operations of the government; but for a great length of time the Cortes have been assembled merely as a matter of form; and the kings of Spain without resorting to violent measures, or even positively rejecting their intervention, have succeeded in eluding it. They however still render them a kind of ironical homage, when they promulgate from the throne certain ordinances called *Pragmatic*, the titles of which import *"that they shall have the same force as if published in the assembly of the Cortes."* They are now no longer assembled, except when a new king ascends the throne, in order to take an oath of allegiance to him in the name of the nation, and to receive his in return. At such times letters of convocation are sent to all the grandees

and to the *titulos* of Castile, to the prelates, and to the cities *(ciudades)* which have a right to a seat in the Cortes. Of these four classes, the two first represent the nobility; the prelates sit on behalf of the clergy, and the cities, which depute one of their magistrates, represent the commons.

The Cortes were assembled for the last time in 1789, at the coronation of the present king. They sat nearly three months, and the president was count Campomanes, who received for this purpose the title of Governor of the Council of Castile; the functions of which he had fulfilled for several years. The Cortes at that time consisted of about one hundred members at most; for all the Spanish provinces did not send deputies. Galicia has separate Cortes. That portion of old Castile known by the name of *Montañas de Sant Ander,* is represented by the city of Burgos, which disputes precedency at the Cortes with Toledo. Navarre, the lordship of Biscay and Guipuscoa have their own Cortes, and these several provinces take the oath of fidelity to the new sovereign by deputies sent to court for the purpose.

This national assembly imperfect and incomplete as it is, was once animated with a sense of its power, and was upon the point of manifesting it. Already were some intrepid orators prepared to express their grievances and to

complain of some of the most intolerable abuses. This might perhaps have been the signal for a revolution. The court foresaw it, as if from a presentiment of what was about to take place in France: the Cortes were politely dismissed, and the members retired quietly to their respective abodes.

With the exception of these convocations, which have only occurred thrice in the last century, and which are attended only with vain ceremonies, and excite nothing but painful recollections of better times, the Cortes of the whole monarchy have not been assembled since 1713, when Philip V. convoked them in order to ratify the Pragmatic Sanction, which changed the order of succession to the throne.

This prince knew, that by virtue of a law, the origin of which it would be perhaps as difficult to point out as that of the pretended Salic law in France, women succeeded to the throne of Castile, when called to it by the proximity of blood; and this kind of succession is known by the name of *Castilian,* or *cognatic* in opposition to that called *agnatic,* and which absolutely excludes females from the throne. Philip V. being desirous in future to assimilate the order of succession in Spain with that hereditary right to the throne under which he was born, thought proper, notwithstanding his predilection for despotism, to summon the Cortes to sanction this act of his will. He was in posses-

sion of immense power, he conquered his kingdom after a war of twelve years; he saw the whole of Spain unequally divided between loyal subjects who could have no intention to resist him, and a discontented people whom he wished to subdue: but he trusted to the blind servility of the Cortes, and he was not deceived. The Cortes recognized the new order of succession, by which heirs male were to inherit the throne to the exclusion of females, whatever might be their degree of propinquity, and which did not admit the right of females except on the total failure of male issue belonging to the reigning family. There is something, however, stronger even than the authority of absolute monarchs: public opinion, and the indelible affection of a people to their ancient laws and customs. The attachment to the old order of succession still lives in the hearts of the greatest part of the people of Spain, and it is probable, that should a question at any time arise between this old order of succession and the Pragmatic Sanction of 1713, the decision would not be given in a quiet and peaceable manner. Happily for Spain, however, this event is far distant, since out of the six children of the present king, three are males. During my first residence in the country, there was a period at which this delicate question began to be agitated. The present king, then prince of Asturias, saw almost all his male children perish in the cradle, and was threatened with a progeny of females. Had

his fears been realized, we should have seen the eldest of the infantas called to the throne by the old Castilian order of succession, while the new order of 1713 would have seated upon it one of the two brothers of the present king, or one of their male descendants; and Europe would have perhaps been deluged with blood in order to decide the quarrel.

But let us now return to the Cortes and observe how little remains of their ancient authority. They are still consulted in some cases when, for example, it is proposed to grant letters of naturalization to a foreigner: but in this case the members correspond with each other in writing without any regular assembly. There exists, however, a feeble image of them in a body which resides constantly at Madrid, by the name of *Diputados de los Reynos*, (deputies of the kingdom). When the Cortes separated in 1713, it was enacted that they should be represented by a permanent committee, whose functions were to superintend the administration of that part of the revenue known by the name of *millones*. They had formerly granted their consent to this impost under Philip II. but upon conditions which this monarch swore to observe, and the *diputados* were appointed to watch over their fulfilment. These deputies were also charged in the name of the Cortes, with the application of the *millones*. In 1718, cardinal Alberoni, whose

haughty mind could brook no restraint, transferred these functions of the deputies into the hands of the sovereign. From this period they have had no concern with any of the revenues of the state, excepting the small portion set apart for the payment of their own salaries. They are eight in number, and are chosen in the following manner.

It must be observed, that the division of Spain into kingdoms and provinces, as Galicia, the Asturias, the kingdom of Leon, the kingdom of Valencia, Andalusia, &c. &c. as laid down in books of geography, and in maps printed in foreign countries, are scarcely known in practice. Modern Spain presents a medley, perhaps, more complicated than France did before the Revolution.

The three provinces of Biscay, Navarre, under the title of kingdom, and the Asturias under that of principality, form separate states, which have neither custom-houses, intendants, nor scarcely any thing connected with the collection of taxes. With respect to this branch of the administration, the rest of the monarchy is divided into twenty-two provinces for the crown of Castile and four for the crown of Arragon. These twenty-six provinces, which differ greatly from each other in point of extent, since the whole of Catalonia, forming part of the kingdom of Arragon, is considered only as a single province, while some other province of the crown of Castile is per-

haps only ten or twelve leagues in any of its dimensions; these twenty-six provinces, I say, have each an intendant, and may be compared with much propriety to our ancient generalships.

The twenty-two provinces of the crown of Castile, are the kingdom of Galicia, the provinces of Burgos, Leon, Zamora, Salamanca, Estremadura, Palencia, Valladolid, Segovia, Avila, Toro, Toledo, La Mancha, Murcia, Guadalaxara, Cuenca, Soria, and Madrid; lastly, Andalusia, comprising four of these provinces still dignified with the name of kingdoms, as in the time of the Moors, viz. the kingdoms of Seville, Cordova, Jaen, and Granada.

The four provinces of the crown of Arragon, are the kingdom of Arragon, the kingdom of Valencia, the principality of Catalonia, and the kingdom of Majorca.

These are not the only divisions of Spain. It is also separated into thirteen military governments, twelve of which have chiefs who take the title of captains-general of the province. The governor of Navarre, alone, has the title of viceroy. Besides all these, Spain is divided into dioceses, which have different limits from the provinces, and into the jurisdictions of civil tribunals, as will be afterwards explained.

The chief of all these divisions, however, although

it does not include the whole of the monarchy, is that which separates Spain into provinces of the crown of Castile, and provinces of the crown of Arragon; two great portions, differing from each other with respect to their interior administration, and the form of levying the taxes. This distinction is as ancient as the period when Castile and Arragon were united by the marriage of Isabella with Ferdinand the Catholic. It is according to this general division that the *diputados de los reynos*, the feeble remains of the Cortes are chosen. All the provinces of the crown of Castile collectively nominate six; Catalonia and Majorca one; and the kingdoms of Valencia and Arragon name the eighth. The deputies sit for six years only, when a new nomination takes place. All that they enjoy of their primitive rights is, that they are members of the Council of Finances, through which the sovereign makes known to the nation the necessity of laying on a new impost; and the consent these deputies are supposed to give to the royal resolution, is a shadow of the consent of the Cortes, without which formerly the taxes could not be increased. It is obvious how feeble a barrier is opposed to the power of the crown in this handful of citizens, without personal dignity or consideration, who are besides in expectation of advancement from the ministry, and after all represent only a small portion of the people.

The provinces of Biscay and Navarre, which have peculiar states and privileges, also on some occasions send deputies to court, but they do not form part of the *Diputados de los Reynos*, and their constituents can fix as they please the term and object of their temporary mission.

It will thus appear how little the authority of the king of Spain is limited. The councils are the organs of his pleasure, and the depositaries of the laws emanating from him, by the agency of his ministers; and during the greatest part of last century these have been the only persons whom he has deigned to consult. It is customary for him to transact business with each of them individually. In arduous circumstances he assembles them in *junta*, in order to have the benefit of their joint opinions. Previous to 1718, their influence had been counterbalanced by the Council of State; at this period, the ambitious Alberoni thought he could rid himself of an inconvenient check. The Council of State continued to be the most distinguished body in the nation, but ceased to assemble. The office of Councillor of State, from that time became only an honorary and lucrative situation, which served as a recompence for long or eminent services, and it was commonly conferred, in the course of a few years, on those who had filled offices in the administration.

But in the month of February, 1792, a few days after my arrival at Aranjuez, count Florida

Blanca, who had long been on bad terms with the queen, and who had been so injudicious, or so haughty, as to neglect the young duke de la Alcudia, whose influence with the royal pair was rapidly increasing; Florida Blanca, whose thoughtless audacity precipitated his country into a war without a motive or even a specious pretence, having been suddenly disgraced, although in perfect security the evening before, was replaced by M. d'Aranda, who was most unexpectedly restored to favour, and appointed prime minister. Although this nobleman was a most experienced minister, he had not so much dependence upon his own energies as to sustain alone the whole weight of the administration at such an eventful crisis, and he called in the asssistance of the Council of State, of which he was immediately appointed president. Notwithstanding these wise precautions, M. d'Aranda was blamed for having accepted the office of prime minister, and for having relied upon the duration of an apparent favour, the instability of which he might have foreseen, had he been acquainted with what was passing at court. His friends thought he would have done himself more honour by a noble refusal, than by accepting a place, the lustre of which could not add to his glory. His enemies, and his rivals, the ministers of powers already secretly leagued against France, for which he was supposed to entertain a partiality, all prophesied his speedy

downfal, to which they doubtless contributed. Many are of opinion, and posterity will perhaps think so too, that in order to preserve his reputation, M. d'Aranda, ought to have done himself justice, and not to have revealed, at the age of seventy-three, the secret of his incapacity to all Europe. For my part, having been near his person during the seven months of his ministry, I feel it incumbent upon me to observe, that while he preserved a dignity, sometimes bordering upon harshness, he employed both his time and exertions in removing the scourge of war from his country: I cannot therefore concur in opinion with those who think that this last scene of his political career has lessened his claims to public esteem.

Supplanted in the month of October, by the duke de la Alcudia, under the pretext that his great age rendered repose necessary, he supported the mortification with the serenity of a philosopher. He was suffered to retain the office of president of the council of state, and he continued to exercise its functions, until having declared his opinion at one of its meetings with regard to the war against France, with that rigid candour which was peculiar to his character, and which his experience at least ought to have excused, he was exiled to Jaen, a city of Andalusia, as the reward of his zeal. On the restoration of peace the king banished him for ever to the distance of

thirty leagues from the court and capital, and thus gave him an opportunity of retiring to his estates in Arragon, where he died in 1802.

At present the Council of State is composed of thirty-seven members, twelve of whom are absent from Madrid for various reasons. Eleven other distinguished individuals, who in general are likewise absent, without forming part of the council, enjoy its *honours*, as they are called; but these are limited to the mere title of *Excellency*.

The title of Councillor of State, now reduced to a mere honorary distinction, even with those who enjoy it in the fullest extent, is the highest favour that can be granted by a king of Spain. Personal merit, long services in the diplomatic or other ministerial departments, were once the only recommendations to this dignity; but within these few years it has been conferred, as a matter of course, upon the ministers of state. The Spanish ministers are six in number:

1. *The Minister for Foreign Affairs*, was always considered as the Prime Minister; he always bears the title of First Secretary of State.

2. *The Minister at War*, possesses but a limited authority; he presides, indeed, over the Council of War, but it is rather a Court of Justice than a Board of Administration; and the inspectors of the infantry, the cavalry, the dragoons, and the provincial militia severally manage the affairs of the corps entrusted to their administration.

The minister of war merely presents their reports to the king.

3. *The Minister of the Marine,* has no coadjutors. He appoints the heads of the three departments of the marine, the inspectors of the navy, subject to the approbation of the king. The regulations for the naval department drawn up by him have occasion only for the sanction of the sovereign.

4. *The Minister of Finance,* ought, properly speaking, to be under the controul of the superintendant general of the finances, but the two offices were some time ago united, their separation having been found to impede the measures of government, without producing any real advantage. Charles III. had three ministers of finance during his reign; Squilaci, who was disgraced in consequence of some popular discontents, was succeeded by Musquiz, and Lerena, both of whom died in office. It is unnecessary to mention that the financial department of Spain was uniformly well conducted under these three ministers; but would they have derived any advantage from a superintendant? The board of finance appears but a feeble barrier against the acts of the minister of this department. The place of president, or governor, has long been filled by this officer himself, and is at present held by an uncle to the Prince of the Peace.

5. *The Minister of the Indies* had formerly the most extensive department in the government under his controul; the whole civil, military, ecclesiastical and financial government of Spanish America was exclusively entrusted to him, and most assuredly there never was a minister in the political world whose influence was more powerful: the immense regions between the gulph of California and the straits of Magellan acknowledged his jurisdiction. Formerly the Council of the Indies was the only check upon this minister, but within these few years the presidency of the council, and the place of minister of the Indies have been held by the same person.

Charles IV. continued the council of the Indies as it had existed since the conquest of America, but he divided the office of minister of the Indies among the five other ministers. The greatest share in this distribution fell to the lot of the *Minister of Mercy and Justice.*

6. The minister last mentioned, has always conducted whatever relates to the magistracy and the ecclesiastical affairs of Spain, and since the functions of the minister of the Indies have been transferred to several individuals, the Minister of Mercy and Justice has superintended the magisterial and ecclesiastical departments of South America also. His authority in Europe is circumscribed by the grand chamber of the council of Castile, and the council of the Indies operates

as a check upon his administration of Spanish America.

In 1796, there were only five ministers. The department for foreign affairs was filled by Don Manuel Godoy, who was created duke de la Alcudia, in 1792, and who, after putting an end to the war, which he had certainly undertaken with regret, received the appellation of *Prince of the Peace.* I have enjoyed opportunities of observing him closely, and under various critical circumstances. I shall neither undertake to be his censor nor his apologist, but merely observe, that there are few examples in history of an exaltation so rapid and so prodigious. By birth a plain country gentleman of Estremadura, with a slender patrimony, he is now one of the most opulent nobles of Spain, and unites in his own person, almost every dignity, and a great number of honorary distinctions. He is invested with the grand order of Charles III., of the Golden Fleece, of St. Januarius, of St. Ferdinand, of Christ, and of Malta. He is a grandee of Spain of the first class; he has the title of *Prince,* which no nobleman of Spanish origin ever enjoyed before him; he is prime minister, member of the council of state, inspector and commandant of the four companies of body guards, generalissimo of the armies by land and by sea; a rank created expressly for him, and which gives him precedency over all the captains general; and as the source of all these fa-

vours he is on terms of the most intimate friendship with the king and queen. Finally, nature concurring with fortune in lavishing upon him whatever seems calculated to confer happiness, has given him a handsome and elegant person, and what is far superior, a sound judgment, and a capacity for business, which required only experience to make them transcendant.*

In 1793, the minister of the finances, was *Don Diego Gardoqui*. From Bilboa, where he had a commercial establishment, he was sent in 1781, as chargé des affaires from Spain to the United States. He was afterwards appointed consul-general in England, and latterly called to the head of the financial department, upon the death of Lerena. To succeed a minister, who had rendered himself so odious, that his funeral procession was interrupted by a burst of popular indignation, was a fortunate introduction for M. Gardoqui. It required some address, at least, to enable him to retain his place amid the embar-

* In 1798, the French government conceiving that it had reason to complain of him, exerted its influence to obtain his removal from the office of minister for foreign affairs, but without success. It was unable to shake his credit with the royal pair, who have always been strongly attached to him. His influence has even increased since that period, and without possessing the title, he is at present the real prime minister and invisible director of all the departments of administration. All who have seen him of late years, even his enemies, acknowledge that he has a quick perception, uncommon sagacity, and an unusual turn for business.

rassments in which he found his department, and not a little courage to sustain the burden of the war with France.

After having conducted for nearly six years, with more good fortune, perhaps, than ability, the vessel of finance through dangerous quicksands, he was appointed ambassador to Turin, and was succeeded by M. de Varela, who was recently promoted to the ministry of the marine, but shewed himself better qualified for the economical than for the military department.

Both these ministers being now dead, the financial department is at present managed by don Miguel Cayetano Soler, who had been for several years governor of the small island of Iviça, one of the Baleares, and which he had enlivened by establishments dictated by wisdom and spirit. Upon his return, he was recommended to the Prince of the Peace by Valkenaer, the Dutch ambassador, a man of spirit, and capable of appreciating merit in more departments than one. The details he furnished on the subject of his petty government, and the enthusiasm with which he described the plans of amelioration he had conceived, determined the Prince of the Peace to exhibit his talents upon a more extensive theatre, and he was promoted to the head of the financial department. I know not, however, whether the application of the following line to M. Soler, be founded in envy or justice:

"Tel brille au second rang, qui s'éclipse au premier."

In 1792, the ministry of the marine was in the hands of M. de Valdez, who since the death of Castejon, had conducted it with wisdom and fidelity. The court and the nation could have wished during the war with France, that he had joined to these qualities that degree of activity which circumstances required. Upon the return of peace, he obtained leave to resign, which he had long solicited, and was succeeded by *Don Pedro Varela*, who had acquired a considerable degree of experience in the administrative department of the navy. He had several acts of negligence to repair; and he proceeded at his outset with a circumspection bordering upon tardiness. His promotion to the ministry of the marine did not meet the approbation of all parties, and it soon produced discontents among the most distinguished naval officers, which were dangerous at the commencement of a maritime war. In short, it was thought that he was better calculated for the department of the finances, and that of the navy was given to admiral *Don Juan de Langara*, who, notwithstanding the kind of disgrace which he had incurred in consequence of the check * received by a Spanish squadron under his command in 1780, had acquired the general esteem of the nation for his talents and loyalty. At that time he

* This *check*, as it is termed by the author, with the characteristic modesty of his nation, was attended with the capture and destruction of *seven* Spanish ships of the line by the immortal Rodney. (*Translator.*)

commanded the Cadiz squadron; he did not long retain the ministry although called to it by the public. He is at present captain-general of the navy, and counsellor of state; he lives at Madrid in tranquillity, and respected as he deserves.*

Upon his retiring from office, the situation was held *ad interim* by *Don Joseph Antonio Caballero*; but at the beginning of 1802, an admiral, high in the public estimation, *Don Domingo Grandellana*, was appointed to the ministry of the marine. From him it was transferred in 1805 to *Don Francisco Gil de Lemos*, an experienced general officer of the navy, and whose name was celebrated in the preceding wars.†

The office of minister of war, upon the death of Lerena, was entrusted to the *Count de Campo Alange*, who held it until the conclusion of the peace with France; he was then appointed ambassador to Vienna, and some years afterwards to Portugal. His immediate successor, as minister at war, was Don Miguel Joseph de Asanza, a soldier of distinguished merit, who, after having been employed in foreign negotiations, had filled the place of intendant of Valencia with general approbation. Soon afterwards he made

* Since the above was written Langara's death has been announced by the public prints. (*Translator.*)

† His predecessor, M. de Grandellana, was sent to Ferrol as comptroller of the navy in that port.

room for Don Juan Manuel Alvares, uncle to the Prince of the Peace, in consequence of being sent as viceroy to Mexico on a difficult emergency, but not above the reach of his talents. A kind of fatality, however, rapidly removed him from this new destination, and he now lives at Madrid in retirement, but not in disgrace. He has lately been mentioned as likely to be appointed to some important missions.

The war department did not long continue under the controul of *Don Juan Manuel Alvares;* his successor, *ad interim,* was the same Don Joseph Antonio Caballero, who already held the departments of mercy and justice, and of the marine. Thus, for some time, he had the most business to transact of any minister in Europe, and he would have been the ablest also, if his talents had been equal to this prodigious task.

The ministry of mercy and justice, which in 1792 I found in the hands of a priest, Don Pedro d'Acuña, a friend of the duke de la Alcudia, was afterwards transferred to *Don Eugenio de Llaguno,* an enlightened and modest man, whom I had long known at the head of the office for foreign affairs, and who was placed near the person of the duke de la Alcudia to assist him with his experience, when that young nobleman was rather prematurely promoted to the administration of that department. *M. Llaguno* did not long retain the ministry of mercy and justice, which perhaps

required a more active man: he retired as a counsellor of state to enjoy the *otium cum dignitate* and died soon afterwards.

His immediate successor is one of the most enlightened Spaniards I ever knew; this was *Don Caspar Melchior de Jovellanos,* one of those whom I had mentioned at the conclusion of my second edition, as a man of merit who languished in obscurity. It has been said that he disappointed the expectations formed of him: he has been accused of attacking with more boldness than dexterity certain inveterate abuses, and particularly those of a description which will be long formidable in Spain. Be this as it may, the dismissal of M. de Jovellanos quickly followed his attempts at reformation; and his disgrace was as rapid as the justice done him had been slow. He was at first exiled to his own province (the Asturias), where he cultivated literature and the useful sciences. New charges pursued him to his retreat, and he was soon afterwards immured in a convent in the island of Majorca.

He was succeeded by the same Don Joseph Antonio Caballero, so often mentioned, and who then filled three important situations of the administration, that of mercy and justice, of war, *ad interim,* and that of the marine, the functions of which he discharged until the appointment of admiral Grandellana.

At this moment (1805) there are four ministers in Spain: *Don Pedro Cevallos,* for foreign affairs; *Don Miguel Cayetano Soler,* for the finances; *Don Joseph Antonio Caballero,* for the department of mercy and justice, and for that of war; and *Don Francisco Gil de Lemos,* for the marine.

The stability of the ministry was one of the most remarkable circumstances of the reign of Charles the Third. When this prince once granted his confidence, neither incapacity nor want of success could induce him to withdraw it. His ministers were almost certain of dying in office, and this security so valuable in several respects, was by no means a stimulus to their activity. If it allowed them scope to put into execution the plans they conceived, it enabled them also to commit peculations with impunity, and afforded time for abuses to take deep root. May they not however have fallen into the opposite extreme in the present reign? The office of prime minister passed into three different hands in the year 1792 alone; and it was with three successive ministers of different characters and opinions that I had to conduct the most intricate negotiations.

Five years afterwards the ministry of foreign affairs was given to *Don Francisco Saavedra,* who was called to it by the voice of the public,

and who had my good wishes also. Bad health was the real or affected cause of his speedy retirement, and he was succeeded by *Don Louis Mariano de Urquijo*, a young man who, after having displayed some talents at foreign courts in the diplomatic career, was appointed to direct the office for foreign affairs. He was in great favour at the time of his appointment, but he appears to have abused it: his imprudence was punished by a mortifying disgrace. He was at first confined in the castle of Pampeluna, and afterwards obtained permission to retire into Biscay; but upon the occasion of some disturbances which broke out in that province in 1804, he was ordered into confinement at Burgos.

The office he had held was ultimately conferred upon *Don Pedro Cevallos*, descended from an ancient family of Old Castile. After having prepared himself by study at Valladolid for an official department, he was sent as secretary of legation to Lisbon. Upon his return to Madrid he married a relation of the Prince of the Peace, and was afterwads appointed minister plenipotentiary at Naples, but some differences between the two courts prevented him from proceeding to execute his functions. So far as we have hitherto been enabled to judge of this minister, his modesty and prudence seem to form a striking contrast with the conduct of his predecessor. We

cannot, however, refrain from observing that in less than four years of the reign of Charles the Fourth there have been six ministers for foreign affairs, while his father had only three in the space of twenty-nine years, two of whom, M. Wall and M. de Grimaldi, retired of their own accord, and the third survived him.

Under the present reign, the other departments of the administration have undergone less frequent changes.

The Spanish ministers have more leisure allowed them for business than those of any other court. Nothing can exceed the regularity in which they pass their lives, riding or walking being their only recreation. While seated in their cabinets their views extend to the extremities of the globe; when they come abroad you would suppose that their sphere did not exceed half a league in diameter. Their chief society consists of their clerks, who constantly dine at the same table. This reciprocal constraint has its inconveniences, but it produces a closer union between the head of the department and his subalterns, and more regularity in the dispatch of business. Those, however, who conduct official business under the eye of the minister are not mere clerks, they may rather be compared with the principal secretaries in the offices of our government. Before a person can be

nominated to these places he must have previously displayed talents in some other confidential situation. In the office for foreign affairs, for instance, almost all the principal secretaries have been attached as such to some diplomatic mission, and from the foreign office they frequently are promoted to the situations of plenipotentiaries or ambassadors. There are at this moment six of this description, who are the representatives of the Spanish court with foreign powers, a remarkable circumstance in a despotic monarchy, where it has generally been supposed that all places are procured by intrigue or favour, and which may, in this respect, serve as a model to more than one free government.

I have frequently met with an appearance of distance and incivility in the Spanish offices, but this frequently disguises the most obliging dispositions: they are accessible at all times to equity and justice, and whatever may be said to the contrary, I have reason to believe that corruption is as rare in them as discretion is common.

I may also add, that there are few countries where the agents of government, with some exceptions, better deserve the confidence of their superiors, or have a stronger claim to the esteem of those with whom they have business to transact. They are not all equally con-

descending and easy of access; their decisions are seldom hastily given, but examples are scarcely to be found where they have acted from malevolence, or have been inaccessible to reason.

CHAP. VI.

Diversions of the Spanish Court. Gallery of pictures. Looking-glass manufactory. Hunting parties. Convent of Paular.

In the article of diversions, the residences of the Spanish court *(Sitios)* afford a very scanty supply. There are no theatrical amusements, no public games, no grand assemblies, except on gala days; they are also peopled only by retainers of the court, whose attendance is required by their official situations, except during the gay season of the royal excursions to *Aranjuez*. The palace of St. Ildefonso is almost entirely desolate; and the society of the royal personages is chiefly confined to the circle of their domestic officers. During that period when the queen was princess of Asturias, she passed the whole of her time, with the exception of a few hours alloted for excursions abroad, in the interior of the palace, where she enjoyed no other amusement than conversation, which she knew how to enliven; and music, of which she was passionately fond. Her consort never once quit-

ted her apartment except to accompany his royal father to the chace, which frequently occurred twice a day. Since their accession to the throne, no material change has taken place in the dull uniformity of their lives. They have only relaxed, in some measure, the severe discipline of etiquette. Sometimes they condescend to honour the entertainments given by the Spanish grandees with their presence; but they seldom or never repair to any public spectacle, not even to the bull fights. During his father's life-time, the king was a patron of the fine arts, having made a choice collection of good pictures by different masters, besides one of the most costly and superb galleries in Europe, which was bequeathed to him as a legacy. It is asserted that this Spanish treasury of the fine arts is second to none except those of France and of the Elector of Bavaria. It is chiefly deposited in the Escurial and and at Madrid. Many pictures were formerly to be found in the palace of St. Ildefonso, but recently the palace at Madrid and Aranjuez have been enriched with its spoils. Enough, however, are remaining to arrest the curiosity of an amateur for a few hours.

In the first antichamber adjoining to the royal apartments you traverse a sort of historical gallery, where you behold a superb portrait of Louis XIV. by Rigaud, one of Louis XV. in his infancy, another of the regent duke de Ven-

dome, those of the last duke of Parma of the house of Farnese, and of his consort, the portrait of Charles III. at the period of his departure for Naples to take possession of that kingdom, of Philip V. on his arrival in Spain, and of his rival the Archduke. The chamber adjoining affords a perspective of the finest cascade in the gardens; it is ornamented with several pictures by Murillo, by Solimena, &c. In the adjoining apartments, you behold a fine St. Sebastian by Guido, a Flemish family by Rubens, a picture by Poussin, two heads by Mengs, the portraits of the great Condé and Turenne, upon the same canvas, by Vandyke, &c.

In a gallery which occupies the whole front towards the gardens, there are many fine pictures, and two fine heads in Mosaic, besides a considerable number of antiques, most of which were purchased in Italy by Philip V., and formerly made part of the cabinet of queen Christina. The most worthy of attention are a cylindrical altar, on which the procession of Silenus is engraven in basso relievo; a colossal Cleopatra; a statue of *Jupiter tonans*; several Venuses, as large as life; eight muses, somewhat mutilated, in which the unskilful hands of some moderns have attempted to repair the ravages of time, and whose draperies are remarkably delicate. There are likewise two groups, which have modestly taken up their station in a corner,

being indelicate allusions in mythology; and also two of the illicit amours of Jupiter, a Leda, and a Ganymede, caressing without any mistrust the lascivious birds whose figure the god had assumed. But the relics of antiquity which more especially challenge the admiration of a connoisseur, are the young faun carrying a kid, and the group of Castor and Pollux, two original masterpieces, in a state of perfect preservation, copies of which are everywhere to be found by the side of the Venus de Medicis, and of the Apollo Belvidere. One of the apartments of the gallery which we traversed is a spacious hall, where the finest marbles of Spain seem to vie with those productions which antiquity has transmitted to us; but notwithstanding their modern splendor, they only serve as a foil to render the superiority of the latter still more manifest. A small corridor adjoining to this gallery contains a confused assemblage of curiosities, which the gallery was not capacious enough to contain. Here you behold Egyptian statues, fragments of columns, bas-reliefs, busts, and other antiques, mouldering in the dust, consigned a prey to insects, and whatever accelerates the ravages of time.

In the environs of the palace of St. Ildefonso, the activity of the monarch has been very conspicuous, since the year 1781, in making improvements and decorations. The count de Florida Blanca, a man eminent for his benevolence

and knowledge, was much concerned to behold a number of women and children wandering about the district of St. Ildefonso, without any regular occupation, and a nuisance to society. In order to furnish them with employment, he instantly conceived a plan for establishing a linen manufactory. In the early part of 1781 no vestiges of this manufactory were visible; but since the summer of 1783 (an instance of dispatch unheard of in Spain!) there were upwards of twenty looms employed, and two great machines for pressing and washing the linen. An able manufacturer, who had the direction of a considerable establishment at Leon, was invited to St. Ildefonso, since which time the manufactory has advanced rapidly towards perfection.

Near this rising manufactory for articles of necessity, there is one of luxury, begun in the reign of Philip V. This is a manufactory of looking-glasses, the only one of the kind in Spain. It was at first only a common glass manufactory, which still exists, and produces tolerably good bottles, and white glass, which is there cut extremely well. This was merely a prelude to a more splendid undertaking. The manufactory of looking-glasses at St. Ildefonso is one of the first establishments in its kind. It was begun in 1728 by a native of Catalonia, and was brought to higher perfection in the reign of Ferdinand VI. by Sivert, a Frenchman. For more than

thirty years past, looking-glasses of all dimensions have been run here; they are perhaps inferior in whiteness and polish to those of Venice and St. Gobin, but no country, till lately, ever produced any of such magnitude. In 1782 I saw one cast which was one hundred and thirty inches by sixty-five. The enormous plate of brass destined for the reception of the liquid matter weighs nineteen thousand eight hundred pounds, and the cylindrical roller superadded to this, to dilate and smoothen the same, weighs twelve hundred. In the spacious and elegant building appropriated to this operation, of which the whole process is worthy of an accurate detail, there are two other plates of a size somewhat inferior, and twenty ovens into which the glasses, still red-hot, are conveyed, where they remain hermetically inclosed for the space of fifteen to twenty-five days, until they gradually cool. All those that are cracked, or have any imperfections, are cut for looking-glasses, for panes of windows, or glasses for carriages. The maintenance of this establishment is attended with a very great expence to the king. I have calculated, that if we would form a just estimate of the cost of the large glasses which are in a sound and perfect condition, making allowances for the general expences of the establishment, and the average losses, there are some which would come to upwards of 160,000 reals.

In a long gallery adjoining to the manufactory they are ground, by a manual operation, which consists in rubbing them against each other, putting between them water and sand, more or less fine, according to the progress of the operation. The upper plate of glass, which is in a state of perpetual motion, whilst that underneath remains immoveable, is much sooner ground, insomuch that five of the former are reduced to a requisite thickness before one of the lower glasses. This is a tedious and monotonous process, for one single glass frequently furnishes one workman with employment for the space of two months.

When they are sufficiently ground on both sides, eight or ten days are employed in polishing the glasses on both sides also, in the following manner: when they are of a first rate size this is performed by the hand in the same workshop; Those of a middling size are conveyed to a machine, in which thirty polishers are set in motion by water; they are a kind of square boxes placed perpendicularly over the glass, and covered underneath with a smooth felt, containing internally a plate of lead, and impelled in a horizontal direction by a wooden handle which is attached to them. The glass is first rubbed by the hand with emery, which is furnished by a quarry in the vicinity of Toledo. This emery is divided into three sorts; the coarsest is first used, then the middling sort, and lastly the finest; after this,

the glass is covered with a reddish earth (*almagro*) and placed under the polishing machine.

An experiment was made to introduce mechanical powers as a substitute for manual labour in grinding the glass. For this purpose, machines were conveyed from France to St. Ildefonso; but the directors of the establishment perceiving that this method, although more expensive, was not much more expeditious than the old one, abandoned it altogether.

The glasses being ground and polished by this process, are finally conveyed to Madrid to be cut. The king keeps the finest to decorate his apartments; of others he makes presents to the courts most intimately connected with that of Spain. In 1782 Charles III. sent to Naples some of them, which measured one hundred and thirteen inches by fifty-four. Some time afterwards, he added fifteen of the same dimensions to other presents which he sent to the Ottoman Porte.

The produce of the manufactory at St. Ildefonso is sold for the king's account at Madrid and in the provinces. In vain, in order to insure a sale for the produce of this manufactory, has he prohibited the importation of foreign glasses of every description, within the distance of twenty leagues. But we may easily suppose that the profits he derives from his splendid manufactory are far from being adequate to the expences of such a considerable establishment, which, with

the exception of wood,* is so far from the raw materials which it consumes, being in the interior of the country, in the midst of mountains, at a great distance from canals and navigable rivers; consequently it may be regarded as one of those ruinous whims of princes, which, while they add to the splendor of the sovereign, impoverish the subject.

Within a quarter of a league of this palace runs a little river, the Eresma, which afforded Charles III. one of his favourite diversions, that of fishing. Having found its banks rugged and winding, he caused them to be levelled and paved; in some places, where the nature of the ground appeared to require it, steps of stone or turf are introduced. This large rivulet is immured between two ridges of rocks, piled above each other in the most romantic manner. Its limpid waters sometimes dash with hoarse murmurs against the rocks, and sometimes fall in gentle cascades, or form small basins for trout, which are very plentiful here. In some parts, little meadows intervene between the river and the plantations of holm-oaks, with which this

* They are, however, obliged to go every year to a greater distance in quest of wood; and although it is procured in forests belonging to his majesty, the carriage of each cart-load costs from forty-four to fifty-four reals; and the manufactory of St. Ildefonso consumes annually two hundred thousand cart-loads.

district abounds. In others, tufted shrubs are seen upon the tops of the rocks, or overhang their sides.

During the reign of Charles III. the court was accustomed once a year to affright the peaceful naiads of the Eresma with the tumult of a general deer-hunting. The rendezvous was about a league from the palace. Some days previous to this diversion, a number of peasants stationed in the woods and upon the neighbouring hills, drove before them the game, with which they abounded. The enclosure in which the deer were confined was contracted by degrees until the time for the diversion arrived. It was a truly amusing spectacle to behold the deer running along in small herds on all sides, then suddenly retreating again, when they beheld the danger which awaited them; then facing about and endeavouring to brave the running fire of musquetry; but being seized with a sudden panic, and baffled in all their attempts, at length rushing into the fatal defile, where the king and the infants were planted in ambush. Their agility then became their only resource. Out of several thousands which crowded into this defile, about one hundred generally fell victims to their temerity: some dropped down dead upon the spot, others mortally wounded fled to the thickets to expire under their shelter. Their bodies, yet palpitating, were brought forward, and laid in rows upon the

field of battle. With a cruel sort of self-complacency, which would make a philosopher blush, but is very excusable in sportsmen, they were counted over and over again. The whole court and foreign ambassadors took part in this diversion, which was repeated towards the conclusion of every visit to the Escurial. In 1782, the king gave one of these chaces in honour of the count d'Artois and the duke de Bourbon, on their return from Gibraltar. Possibly they might have desired a less easy victory, being accustomed to run down these timid animals, but not to slaughter them in cold blood; but the forests at Compiegne and Fontainebleau had never afforded them such a magnificent spectacle of fleet herds, filing off by thousands before them.

Under his present majesty these diversions have not been periodical as formerly, but are become much more frequent, their professed object being to destroy those numerous herds of deer which infest the country adjacent to the royal domains. In the very first year of his reign, Charles IV. destroyed above two thousand of these animals, by decoying them within the range of batteries charged with grape-shot, and I observed in 1792 and 1793 that this salutary plan had been effectually executed in the environs of his palaces.

There is likewise another district in the vicinity of St. Ildefonso, whither the late king of Spain

used once a year to carry those alarms which accompany the noisy pleasures of sportsmen, I mean the environs of Paular, a monastery of Carthusians, situate at the foot and on the opposite side of those steep mountains which overlook the palace of St. Ildefonso. Paular, one of the most wealthy convents in Spain, famous for its fine wool, stands in a delightful valley, irrigated by a large rivulet, which gently glides through groves and vast meadows. This stream drives a paper-mill, the noise of which, is the only sound that interrupts the solemn tranquillity of the district. A Frenchman superintends this manufactory for the benefit of the Carthusians, and in this remote corner seems to have forgotten both his country and his native language.

There is nothing remarkable in the Carthusian monastery of Paular, except a large cloister, in which Vincent Carducho, a celebrated Spanish painter, has delineated the principal events in the life of St. Bruno.

I cannot conclude my observations on St. Ildefonso, without taking notice of the palace of Riofrio, which is three leagues distant from it. Charles III. visited this place once a year in order to amuse himself with the diversion of hunting, in his own way, that is, without stirring, the herds of deer which peaceably wandered all the rest of the year in the adjacent woods. The palace of Riofrio is situated in a sandy desert, on

which account the strange predilection of Queen Isabella for this place appears absolutely incomprehensible. She was the founder of this palace, where she intended to pass the remainder of her days. That it might recal to her memory the new palace at Madrid, in which neither she nor her husband had the good fortune to reside even one single day, she caused it to be built upon the same plan, but on a smaller scale. The accession of her son Charles III. caused her to relinquish her scheme of retirement, and before it was finished, the palace of Riofrio was abandoned for ever.

CHAPTER VII.

Monastery of the Escurial. Pictures. Pantheon. Environs of the Escurial.

Let us now quit St. Ildefonso and prosecute our journey towards the Escurial. About three quarters of a league from St. Ildefonso, you cross the Eresma by a stone bridge, and arrive at Balsain, a village situated in a hollow, surrounded by thick woods. The Spanish monarchs had formerly a hunting seat here, which was visited occasionally by Philip V., and where he first conceived the idea of building the palace of St. Ildefonso in this wild country, which was congenial with his taste for solitude and hunting. The French ambassador resided at this old castle before the king built a house for his accommodation in the village of St. Ildefonso.

On quitting this place, you ascend for two leagues the rugged declivity of those lofty mountains which separate the two Castiles. The road is shaded by large pines, whose tops are frequently lost in the fogs which rise from the bosom of the deep valleys. As you approach the summit of the mountains, the atmosphere becomes

gradually more bleak, and when you are at length arrived at the height of the seven cliffs (*los siete picos*), which, when viewed from St. Ildefonso, have the appearance of an immense battlement, another splendid scene attracts the eye of the delighted traveller. He expatiates over the wide plains of New Castile, and discerns Madrid considerably within the bounds of the horizon which bewilders his sight. It is a different country, a different soil, another climate. Often leaving behind him dense clouds, to which the mountains seem to serve as boundaries, he passes all at once into a serener atmosphere. He now prosecutes his journey along a road which was formerly in many places an abrupt declivity, but since 1785 has been made more level, and then drops, rather than descends, from this magnificent Belvidere, and having traversed the space of two leagues, he arrives at the town of Guadarrama, through which passes the great road from Paris to Madrid. This road he crosses on his way to the Escurial, where the court passes the latter part of the season.

This famous nonastery is situate about midway of the ascent of the chain of mountains which bound Old Castile. (See Pl. IV.) The choice which Philip II. made of this sandy and rugged situation coincides with the savage, morose character which history ascribes to that prince. We must, however, pay some deference to the memory of

this monarch on our approach towards this royal convent, where he is styled *our holy founder*, where his ashes repose and his image frequently recurs. It is well known that the foundation of the Escurial was in consequence of a vow he made on the day of the battle of St. Quentin, at which, however, he was not present. It is also known that he consecrated it to St. Lawrence, as it happened to be the day of that saint. In Spanish it likewise bears the appellation of *San Lorenzo*, and every object in the Escurial reminds you of the instrument of his martyrdom. You not only behold it on the doors, windows, altars, rituals, and sacerdotal robes, but the very edifice of the Escurial has likewise borrowed its figure. It is a quadrangular building, with the principal front to the west, behind which is a mountain; the opposite side, which faces Madrid, forms the shortened handle of a gridiron reversed, and the four feet are represented by the spires of four little square towers, which rise at the four angles.

I do not pretend, with the Abbé de Vayrac and Colmenar, to present an exaggerated estimate of all the doors, windows, courts, &c. of this celebrated convent. Such a prodigious pile has unquestionably a very imposing air, but it by no means comes up to those ideas which its reputation might suggest. The architecture is not splendid; it has rather the grave simplicity

suitable to a convent than the magnificence of a royal mansion. The west front is the only part which has an elegant portico, consisting of massy columns of the Doric order, half sunk into the wall, and on each side is a large door of noble dimensions. Through this portico, you pass into a square court, at the bottom of which is a church. This principal entry is never thrown open to the Spanish monarchs or the princes of the blood, except on two solemn occasions: one of these is, when they are carried to the Escurial after their birth; and the other, when their remains are carried out to be deposited in the vault which awaits them; a striking emblem of the gates of life and those of eternity. On this side the door of the church is ornamented with a fine colonnade, which is crowned with colossal statues of six kings of Israel, which are poised, as it were, upon slight pedestals. These six kings all had a share in the construction or renovation of the temple at Jerusalem, as we learn from the inscriptions engraven upon the base of their statues. The two in the middle are David and Solomon, to whom the sculptor has endeavoured to impart the likeness of Charles V. and Philip II. his son, so ingenious is flattery, in all ages, in accommodating features to its own purposes.

The south front is entirely destitute of ornaments, but there are nearly three hundred

windows in the four stories, reckoning the sub-basement, which the inequality of the ground rendered necessary on this side. The two principal doors which form the common entrance are in the opposite front. The whole edifice is of hewn stone, being a species of bastard granite, embrowned by time, which gives an air of solemnity to this monument of architecture.

The quarry from which it was extracted is in the vicinity of the Escurial, and this circumstance is said to have been one of the motives for choosing this situation. It furnished blocks of such dimensions, that three stones were sufficient to form the cases of the largest doors, and every step of the principal staircase is composed of no more than one of them.

When the court does not reside at the Escurial, it is merely a prodigious convent, inhabited by nearly two hundred Jeronymites. On the arrival of the court this convent is metamorphosed into a palace. The monks are obliged to take up their residence in the apartments on the south and west side, and the principal cells are reserved for the use of the royal family and their suite. The monarch has his apartment in the confined space which forms the handle of the gridiron.

Philip II. seems to have chosen this as a pla e of retirement, where the majesty of the sovereign might repose under the shade of altars, and become familar with the image of the grave; and

his successors, imitating his humility, are content with this modest residence. It communicates by a staircase with the church and sacristy, where all the arts have concurred to display their magnificence.

The church is in the form of a Grecian cross, surmounted with a dome. The whole building rests upon pillars, perhaps somewhat too unwieldy, in the substance of which altars have been formed. Its architecture is simple but majestic. On the vaulted ceiling of the dome, the magic pencil of Luca Giordano has painted in fresco several subjects from holy writ, and some sacred allegories. The high altar, to which you ascend by a flight of twenty steps, contains three different orders of architecture, ranged one above another, in the form of a truncated pyramid; no expence has been spared in its decoration. Richness and elegance are united in the tabernacle. Its columns are of the most costly marble; the intermediate spaces are enriched with paintings by Lucas Cambiaso and Pellegrino Tibaldi. Yet the whole has something diminutive in its appearance, which forms a contrast with the majesty of the edifice. On the contrary, the two monuments erected here, are really beautiful; they perfectly correspond with the first order, which consists of fluted Doric columns. On one side is that of Charles V., on the other that of Philip II. These two monarchs are re-

presented in the attitude of kneeling and paying their obeisance to the King of kings. They occupy the fore part of a sort of chamber, which opens towards the altar, and is lined in the inside with black marble. These two monuments combine at once the properties of magnificence and solemnity. On beholding them, a species of religious awe insensibly steals upon you, suggesting to you the vanity of worldly greatness, and the abyss in which it is sooner or later overwhelmed. These reflections have still greater weight, when applied to two monarchs, who during their lifetime harassed the universe with projects of ambition, and are now consigned to everlasting repose, by the only law whose mandates they could not disobey.

The two altars adjoining to the high altar, are those of the Annunciation and St. Jerome, which have beauties of a different kind, which can be relished only by devotees and goldsmiths. Two large doors, upon which are two indifferent paintings by Lucas Cambiaso, expose to the dazzled eye an immense quantity of relics, preserved in cases of silver and vermilion, and enriched with precious stones. You are likewise shewn a large St. Lawrence of solid silver, on the bosom of which are some of the spoils of that martyr, which his disciples doubtless saved from the flames.

The church likewise contains some good

paintings by artists of the second order; but in the two sacristies, the *chef d'œuvres* of painting are crowded together in such profusion as to fatigue the admiring eyes of connoisseurs. In the first, which is not well lighted, there are three by Paul Veronese, one by Titian, two by Tintoret, one by Rubens, and one by Spagnoletto. The principal sacristy contains a much greater number, and would alone suffice to give the Escurial the reputation which it enjoys. I shall only mention such paintings as attract the attention of spectators less accustomed to judge of the productions of art. The most striking of all is the painting of the altar by Claude Coello, a Portuguese; it represents a scene which took place in this same sacristy. Charles II., accompanied by the nobles of his court, is represented kneeling before the Holy Sacrament which is held by the prior of the monastery; he comes to make reparation for the profanation of a host, mangled by impious hands, and avenged by a miracle. Unquestionably there are better paintings in the Escurial, but there is not one which makes a deeper impression on vulgar minds. True connoisseurs, and those who have a predilection for great names, will give a preference to a fine Virgin by Guido, to two pieces by Vandyke, one the Woman taken in Adultery, the other St. Jerome naked to the middle, and writ-

ing as from the dictation of an Angel, whose freshness of complexion produces the most agreeable contrast with the sallow hue of the aged saint.

There is a very large painting by Tintoret, in which the artist has given full scope to the eccentricity of his imagination, in representing the Lord's Supper. There are likewise an Assumption by Annibal Caracci; several paintings by Titian, among which two are conspicuous, one representing St. Sebastian as large as life; the other, Jesus Christ interrogated by a doctor of the law; three by Raphael, one called *the Pearl,* on account of its superior excellence, represents a Holy Family, in which there is a grace, a justness of expression, and a correctness of design peculiar to this great master; and a Visitation, in which the modesty of the Virgin, and her embarrassment on appearing before Elizabeth, with the unexpected and evident symptoms of her pregnancy, are most admirably depicted.

Artists of inferior note have likewise furnished contributions towards the decoration of this sacristy. We shall only mention two: the Chevalier Maxime and Romanelli. The first has exhibited the beauty of Guido's forms in a painting, where Jesus Christ holds a disputation with the Priests; and another by Romanelli, representing

the Virgin in a sitting attitude, caressed by the infant Jesus and John the Baptist, possesses all the suavity and grace of Albano's pencil.

It may be imagined, without being expressly mentioned, that this sacristy contains, in huge drawers, the most costly sacerdotal ornaments, chandeliers, sacred vessels, &c. which evince the magnificence rather than the piety of the Spanish monarchs.

The same may be said concerning the Pantheon, their sepulchre, to which you descend by a door, in the passage conducting from the church to the sacristy. The staircase leading into the Pantheon is entirely covered with marble, as is also that building itself. It is divided into several chambers, each of which is appropriated to some particular purpose. One is called *Podridero,* or the place of putrefaction. Here the bodies of kings and their families are consigned to the first ravages of corruption. In another are deposited the bodies of all the Spanish princes and princesses who have not ascended the throne. In this august and melancholy assemblage, the remains of the Duke de Vendôme are deposited, as were those of M. de Turenne at St. Denis. I have ascertained this fact by consulting the register of the monastery, which mentions the arrival of his corpse on the 9th September, 1712.

The real Pantheon is exclusively consecrated as

the last asylum for the kings and queens of Spain: a dim light illumines this chilling receptacle. The deficiency of light is supplied by a superb lustre suspended from the cupola, which is only lighted up on extraordinary occasions; but generally a torch assists the inquisitive traveller in exploring this dumb and motionless assembly of sovereigns. By its wavering light you discern, opposite to the principal entry, an altar and a crucifix of black marble, on a pediment of porphyry. The whole is in a style of mournful magnificence. The cases which contain the corpses of the kings and queens, are arranged on each side of the altar in three rows, one over another, in different compartments formed by fine fluted pilasters of marble. These cases are of bronze, of a simple yet noble figure. Several of them, still empty, are ready to open and receive their deposits. A salutary yet awful lesson which kings have not refused to receive from the bold designs of an able architect.

Philip II. reposes in the highest tomb of the first division. It was this prince who laid the foundation of the Pantheon, but it was not completed until the reign of Philip IV. It has only afforded a receptacle to three sovereigns of the house of Bourbon; the young king Louis I. who ascended the throne in 1724, and died the same year; Queen Amelia, consort of Charles III. and Charles III. himself. Philip V. and his consort

are interred at St. Ildefonso; Ferdinand VI. and Queen Barbara at Madrid, in a convent which they founded.

The following well known line, cannot be applied to this temple of death;

Le temps, qui détruit tout, en affermit les murs.

The ravages of time, aided by the damps, have not spared even the solid marble. This furnishes us with a twofold lesson on the frailty of man, how exalted soever his condition may be, and the perishable nature of his works, which, in his pride, he would fain stamp with the image of immortality.

The choir of the monks of the Escurial, is above the great door of the church, and opposite to the high altar. Fresco paintings, the subject of which relate to St. Lawrence and St. Jerome, decorate its walls. The pulpit, notwithstanding its unwieldy dimensions, turns upon a pivot with surprising facility. Behind the choir, a masterpiece of sculpture arrests your attention. It is a Christ in marble, of the natural size, and executed by Benvenuto Cellini, by whom the constable de Bourbon was killed on the walls of Rome.

On either side of the choir, begins a gallery which runs along the two fronts of the church, and communicates by four doors with the first story of the monastery; it is intersected by seve-

ral spaces between the pillars which contain a part of the congregation during divine service. Here I have often been deeply impressed with those devout sentiments with which minds, the least tinctured with fanaticism, are overpowered on beholding a majestic temple. That of the Escurial, above all others, is apt to inspire solemn meditations. The solidity of this enormous pile, which has already flourished for two centuries, and will survive its founder who rests within its walls twenty more; the memory of that haughty monarch, who for a long time has received no other homage than funereal orisons, whose shade appears to haunt the gloomy monument of his fear and piety; the sounds of a hundred voices which make its vaults reverberate the praises of the Eternal: all this induces a solemnity of soul and a melancholy which are far more pleasing than the idle dissipations of the world.

We must now take a survey of the other beauties contained within the monastery of the Escurial. On quitting the gallery, which runs along two sides of the church, you traverse a long corridor, called the *Hall of Battles*, because some of the old Spanish combats with the Moors are here painted in fresco. Good judges are accustomed to admire the natural delineation of the costume, and the life and glow of the colouring.

I must now call the attention of the reader to the two great cloisters, their marble pavement,

and their magnificent proportions. The fresco paintings of the lower cloister have perhaps been more warmly applauded than they deserve. The laws of perspective are not well attended to, and in this particular, a spectator will be disappointed. But if you admire heads full of expression, or those large and vigorous forms of the school of Michael Angelo, you must frequent this place more than once, in order to behold the principal traits in the life of our Saviour delineated in gigantic figures by Peregrino Tibaldi.

The passage to this place lies through narrow and dark corridors. The most obvious defect in the architecture of the Escurial, is that the principal objects are misplaced, and of course do not produce a proper effect.

The portico and the great staircase are only, as it were, accidentally discovered. There is a very fine interior court, ornamented with two ranges of arcades, in a style at once simple and majestic. In the centre there is a small temple, which is, perhaps, the most regular piece of architecture to be found in the Escurial; but it appears to have been purposely concealed from the eyes of inquisitive strangers.

The great cloister below communicates with the hall of the chapter, which is filled with masterpieces of painting. There are several by Titian; one by Velasquez, representing the children of Jacob bringing to him the bloody

clothes of their brother Joseph, a painting full of expression. There is also a Blessed Virgin by Raphael, a St. Jerome by Guercino, three pictures by Rubens, and three by Spagnoletto; three capital performances of Guido challenge particular admiration.

The great cloister below also communicates with the old church of the monastery. Here are three capital paintings by Titian, three by Spagnoletto, and one by Raphael, which surpasses all the others without exception, in the beauty and majesty of the figures, the correctness of the design, in short, in a combination of all the excellences which characterize the works of that inimitable artist. I have seen connoisseurs contemplating this grand masterpiece with rapturous enthusiasm and tears of delight; their extacy not being in the least disturbed by the strangeness of the subject; for here you behold the Blessed Virgin, the infant Jesus, St. Jerome in the dress of a cardinal reading the Bible to them, whilst the angel Raphael ushers into the presence of the holy group young Tobias, who, with an humble attitude, comes to offer them the tribute of his fish. This last circumstance has given this picture the appellation of *Madonna del Pez* (our lady of the fish).* It is inconceivable how the genius of

* The engraving, which Selma, one of the ablest Spanish artists, published of this painting in 1782, although it is well designed, is however but a faint copy of the majestic harmony which pervades this magnificent performance.

Raphael could stoop to such a heterogeneous composition, or how the execution should bear no marks of compulsion, as it was doubtless a task dictated to him. If his exquisite taste was not disgusted by a dissonance which is offensive to men of a less refined genius, what must become of the rules of art and the precepts of reason?

Another admirable composition, after the *Madonna del Pez*, is a grand Lord's Supper by Titian, which occupies the whole breadth of the refectory of the monks.

In the upper cloister, among several indifferent paintings, we may remark some by Spagnoletto, one in particular, representing Jacob tending his flocks; and another by Navarette, also known under the appellation of Muet, whom Philip II. called the Titian of Spain.

The principal staircase, leading from the tower to the upper cloister, is also worthy of notice. The four sides of the frieze, and the ceiling are painted in fresco by Giordano, who had delineated the battle of St. Quentin, the performance of the vow of Philip II., and the arrival of that prince at the celestial court.

At the first landing-place of this staircase, there is a little cloister conducting to the library of the Escurial, which is less aluable for the number and choice of its books than for the beauty of its decorations, and the number of Greek and Arabic manuscripts which it contains. All the arts have furnished contributions towards

its embellishment; its only defect consists in being surcharged with ornaments. Paintings occupy the whole space left vacant by the books. Its vaulted ceiling is ornamented with arabesques, and figures for the most part colossal. There Tibaldi, the preceptor of Michael Angelo, has displayed the vigour of his pencil, which, however, sometimes degenerates into extravagance. His unnatural attitudes resemble contortions; his figures are gigantic and almost monstrous. The shelves containing the books, which are of costly wood beautifully carved, appear diminutive under the colossal paintings of Tibaldi. Beneath them are paintings in fresco by Bartolomeo Carducci, which also lose by the contrast. The subjects, taken from sacred and profane history, relate to the science treated of in the works ranged upon the shelves above them. Thus the council of Nice is delineated above the books treating on theology; the death of Archimedes at the siege of Syracuse is represented above those relating to mathematics.

The middle of the library is furnished with tables and globes. Amongst other things, you behold a small equestrian statue of Philip IV., and a little temple of solid silver, ornamented with lapis lazuli, and precious stones, and surrounded with the ancestors of Queen Anne de Neuburg, consort of Charles II.

In the intermediate spaces between the shelves,

you remark the portraits of Charles V., and of the three Philips, his successors on the Spanish throne. Let us pause for a moment, if you please, whilst we contemplate the portrait of Philip II., delineated with much precision by Panteja de la Cruz; let us notice his melancholy and austere countenance, in which the history of his life is depicted. We must, however, be careful not to communicate the result of our observations to the monks who accompany us; for this would be a bad recompence for the civilities we receive at their hands. If any traveller has brought along with him prejudices against the Spaniards in general, or against the monks in particular, the Jeronymites of this monastery will soon remove all his unfavourable impressions. He will presently be convinced, that even under the monastic habit, the Spaniard frequently conceals true politeness and genuine cordiality. For the truth of this assertion, I can appeal to two Danish literati, who visited the Escurial in 1783, in order to make researches there, and were very hospitably entertained by the monks, notwithstanding the difference of their manners, their language, and, above all, of their religion.* They were provided

* These were Mr. Moldenhauer, at present the chief librarian of the royal library at Copenhagen, and Mr. Tyschen, professor at the university of Gottingen. Both have enriched German literature with the result of their enquiries at the Escurial.

with lodgings in the convent, and all their wants were supplied with the most liberal hospitality. All the treasures of the library were thrown open to them, and they spent two months in examining and making extracts from all the manuscripts which attracted their curiosity. The civilities they experienced on this occasion were the more extraordinary, as these manuscripts were unknown to the public, except from some extracts published by Cassiri, a Spaniard, in two folio volumes, which are far from completing the extensive scheme which this scholar had projected.* One of the monks of the Escurial is engaged upon a continuation of his work.

These manuscripts are not deposited in the great library, which is open every morning and evening during the residence of the court at the Escurial, but in a spacious hall, always kept shut, and situate above the former, to which all books proscribed by Spanish orthodoxy are

* In 1802, there appeared at Madrid, a complete translation of an Arabic manuscript on Agriculture, belonging to the library of the Escurial, which was printed at the expence of the king of Spain. This translation was begun in 1751, and was finally completed and published by Don Joseph Bangueri, interpreter of the Arabic language to his catholic majesty. It is remarkable in more respects than one. We learn from it, for instance, that at the time of the Moors, agriculture was in a very flourishing condition in Spain, and that they were acquainted with many plants, both curious and useful, of which no vestiges at present remain.

banished. This hall is hung round with the portraits of Spaniards who have distinguished themselves in science and literature, who are much more numerous than foreigners might perhaps suppose.

On your entrance into the library of the Escurial, you are rather surprised to see the books placed the wrong way, with their titles inscribed on the edge of the leaves at full length. I frequently inquired into the reason of this custom, which appears somewhat singular. I was told that Arias Montanus, a learned Spaniard of the sixteenth century, whose library served as a foundation to that of the Escurial, had arranged and inscribed all his books after this manner, which probably appeared to him the most commodious position; that he had subsequently introduced his own method at the Escurial, which, for the sake of uniformity, has been followed with all the other books. This explanation only serves to shew the whimsical humour of an individual, and the general attachment to old established customs, even when they are indifferent in themselves.

In a little hall adjoining to the large upper cloister, you are agreeably surprised by the sight of an Annunciation by Paul Veronese, a Nativity by Tintoret, a Descent from the Cross, and a St. Margaret terrified by the appearance of a dragon, by Titian; but what eclipses all the rest, is a painting by the same master, which is

styled the Glory of Titian, either on account of its excellence, or because it represents Charles V. and Philip II. admitted to a participation of celestial glory, in the presence of the principal patriarchs of the Old Testament.

A little cabinet, contiguous to this hall, contains several relics: one of the miraculous urns used at the marriage of Cana, an old manuscript of the life of St. Theresa, written by herself, &c.

I might likewise mention several *chef d'œuvres* to be seen in the passage leading from the king's apartment into the church; such as a Descent from the Cross by Spagnoletto; a large painting by Chevalier Maxime, representing Lot, his wife, and daughters, one of the most striking pieces in the Escurial; besides another small one by Rubens, in which a group of several martyrs is represented in a suppliant attitude around the throne of the Virgin.

Near the little hall which contains this last painting, is the door of an apartment in which, according to the tradition of the monastery, the unfortunate Don Carlos ended his days, not by the sanguinary orders of Philip II. but by starving himself to death in a paroxysm of despair, which we are told is to be attributed rather to the violence of his ungovernable temper, than to the severity of his father. We may easily suppose, however, that we are not to expect to find at the Escurial the real clue

to this tragedy, which brands the memory of its *holy founder* with infamy.

I should never conclude, were I to enter into a minute detail of all the remarkable paintings contained within the Escurial. Those who desire a more detailed catalogue of the curiosities of this monastery, may consult the description given by father Ximenes, one of the monks resident here, and also the work of the Abbé Ponz, an intelligent amateur, recently deceased, who has published a tour of Spain, in seventeen volumes, one of which is wholly occupied with a description of the Escurial. What I have already said may suffice to shew my readers that it chiefly owes its reputation to its collection of paintings; that if it were stripped of this valuable portion of its treasures, or that if the court did not annually display its magnificence here, it would be nothing more than a prodigious convent, more remarkable for its enormous bulk and massive proportions than the elegance and magnificence of its decorations. Two of its sides are skirted by a narrow terrace, which commands a very extensive but monotonous view of the country towards Madrid. The Abbé de Vayrac and Colmenar take very particular notice of its immense park; for my part, I have seen nothing in the environs of the Escurial but thinly scattered woods, full of small rocks, intersected with meadows, which are rarely green, and peopled

with deer, but there is no walled enclosure, no park properly so called, and nothing exhibiting that character of pomp and grandeur by which you might be apprized of your approach to a royal habitation.

From the terrace you descend by a flight of steps to a garden, which is neither large, elegantly laid out, nor carefully cultivated. At one end of this terrace is an outhouse adjoining to the principal edifice, but of much more elegant architecture. Behind it communicates with a new building parallel to the principal front of the convent, and destined for the reception of the Infantas.

This edifice, being situated at the foot of the mountains, and opposite to the defiles through which the winds rush with violence, contributes in some measure to assuage their impetuosity, but cannot altogether prevent their being sensibly felt, especially during the season when the court resides at the Escurial. They are the more troublesome as they blow in the direction of the north front, and sweep the oblong space which separates this wing from the habitations allotted to the ministers and part of the offices, and which you are obliged to cross in going from the village to the monastery. If we were to credit the accounts we hear, these outrageous winds not only arrest foot passengers, make them stagger, nay even throw them to the ground, but sometimes they

attack carriages drawn up before the palace with such violence, that they sometimes remove them from their places, and drive them to a great distance. I have not witnessed any of these miracles during my different journeys to the Escurial. It is however true, that tornadoes frequently rage in a passage called *Lonja*, leading from the village to the royal convent. In order to render it less inconvenient to foot passengers, a subterraneous corridor has been introduced underneath, vaulted with hewn stone, which is called *la Mena*, where travellers going to, or returning from the palace, may bid defiance to the fury of the elements, and laugh at the blast of Boreas howling over their heads. It was first projected by Don Jayme Massones, a Spanish grandee who was ambassador in France, and had been at the congress of Aix-la-Chapelle; and has acquired him a species of celebrity at a cheap rate.

The situation of the Escurial render the circumjacent walks very rugged; you may wander however with pleasure in a valley between the south front and a mountain which projects its steep and woody peak. The uneven ground brings new prospects before you every instant, and accelerates the fall of several rivulets which meander through the groves. A gentle melancholy steals upon you, whilst you listen to their distant murmurs, blended with the rustling of trees, agitated by furious winds, and the lowing

of deer, which during their rutting time are restless, and continually roving about beneath their shades. This valley is continued by a gradual descent from the *Cazin* of the Infant Don Gabriel, to that which the present monarch caused to be built when he was prince of Asturias. These two little villas have been fitted up internally in a style of splendour, which their simple outside does not teach us to expect. That called the prince's contains the choicest and most finished productions of the art of the statuary, gilder, and cabinet-maker. Charles IV. had likewise formed there a vast collection of paintings, many of which both on account of their subjects and their magnitude are certainly misplaced in this pretty retreat. Such, for instance, are the large heads of the apostles, the grave master-pieces of Spagnoletto, whose pencil seems to have been dedicated exclusively to penitentiary subjects. This diminutive palace would have been more suitably embellished had it retained only some beautiful landscapes, some copies in miniature of the best pictures at Madrid, and two sea-pieces by Vernet, of which Lewis XVI. made a present to the prince of Asturias, who had expressed a wish to possess at least one of the performances of that great master. Vernet has likewise embellished with his pencil all the pannels of a cabinet, the dimensions of which were sent him by the prince. All the paintings are admirably expressive of the un-

rivalled talents of this painter, and those who do not know that they were ordered in 1782, will take them for the productions of his best time.

The villa of the Infant Don Gabriel, who bequeathed it to his brother, Don Antonio, is greatly inferior in size and decorations to the former. You likewise observe here, what you would admire more in another place, several *chef d'œuvres* of the grave Spagnoletto, especially a St. Peter, replete with truth and expression; but you are chiefly delighted with two enchanting heads, full of grace and sweetness, the one by Correggio, the other by Murillo. The Infant Don Gabriel, who combined the knowledge of a critic with the zeal of an amateur, who not only patronized but also himself cultivated the arts, furnished one of the cabinets of his little mansion with drawings by the greatest masters.

CHAPTER VIII.

Palace at Madrid. Buen Retiro. Sketch of the three last Reigns. Walk on the Prado. Botanical Garden. Cabinet of Natural History; Academy of the Fine Arts. Plaza Mayor.

We must now take leave of the mountains, the rocks, and solemn beauties of the Escurial, in order to prosecute our journey to Madrid, along an excellent road which passes through the most sandy region that is to be found in Europe. As you descend the hill, on which the monastery is situated, you cross a small forest of ash-trees *(fresnera)* which exhibits several charming points of view. During the reign of Charles III., you were gratified with the spectacle of oxen, horses, and vast herds of deer grazing together on this spot, without being alarmed by the rattling of carriages. The plan adopted by Charles IV. has diminished their numbers, and rendered them more timid. In crossing the forest, you have a glimpse of some ponds, through the trees which have an agreeable effect. Farther on a solitary dwelling offers an asylum to travellers who have lost their way; it is a farm-house, belonging to the monks of the Escurial, whose opulence, not-

withstanding their politeness, is, methinks, almost a subject of envy. A calculation drawn from authentic sources, estimates their annual revenues at seven hundred thousand livres.

On leaving this forest, you see no more trees till you approach the Mançanares. This small river runs at some distance under the heights on which Madrid is situated; it is almost shallow enough in all parts to be forded by carriages. It has, however, two large bridges, one at Segovia, and the other at Toledo. It was jocosely observed, concerning the first built by Philip II., that this fine bridge wanted nothing but a river. However both epigram and panegyric are misplaced here. These disproportioned bridges occur very frequently in Spain, and may be accounted for in a very rational manner. Spain is intersected in almost every direction by ranges of mountains, the summits of which, notwithstanding the heat of the climate, are frequently covered with snow. The brooks and rivers running down their sides, are generally very shallow on account of the frequent drought in the provinces through which they pass, but when swoln by copious rains, or a sudden melting of the snows, their beds are considerably enlarged, because their depth is shallow, and they carry along with them a great quantity of sand. In estimating the dimensions of the bridges, the architects have consequently provided

for such emergencies, although they are not frequent. Their solid construction is meant to withstand a sudden swell of the river, and their apparently disproportionate length to obviate the inconvenience which might arise from an inundation. We ought not to tax whole nations with folly, because we cannot, at first sight, discover the reasons of certain customs or regulations.

Madrid has a good appearance, when approached on the side of the Escurial. (See pl. V.) After having passed the Mançanares, we prosecute our journey on a fine road planted with trees, which leads to Prado, a royal seat within two leagues of Madrid, where the court usually resided two or three months during the reign of Charles III. but which is now only visited by his successor at stated times for the convenience of hunting in the woods which encompass this gloomy palace. The road runs for some time along the banks of the Mançanares, and on the opposite shore you behold *la Casa del Campo*, an ancient villa of the Spanish monarchs, which has been rather neglected by the present dynasty.

The gate of San Vicente, which forms the entrance on this side, is new, and built in a good style. You advance afterwards by a steep ascent towards the new palace, which stands detached upon an eminence, without a terrace, a park, or a garden, and bears a greater resemblance to a ci-

tadel, than to the habitation of one of the most powerful monarchs in the Universe. But, on a nearer survey, your opinion of this palace will be greatly changed. It is of a square form; spacious porticos encompass the inner court. The offices and apartments assigned to the principal persons attached to the court, occupy the ground floor. You ascend by an elegant marble stair-case, the balustrade of which is highly ornamented. The royal apartments are of the most magnificent dimensions. The hall in which the throne is placed, denominated *el salon de los reynos*, extorts admiration even from those who have seen the gallery at Versailles. Tiepolo, a Venetian, has depicted the different costumes of the Spanish monarchy on the ceiling. Beautiful vases, little statues, and antique busts are ranged on all the tables. Almost all the furniture is of Spanish manufacture; the mirrors, perhaps the largest in Europe, and the glass of the windows came from St. Ildefonso. The tapestry was made in a manufactory near the gates of Madrid. The various quarries of the peninsula furnished the marble for the tables and walls. The next apartment is the dining hall of his majesty. Mengs has transfused all the grace and energies of his pencil into the gods and goddesses of Olympus painted on the ceiling. During the summer the tapestry is removed, and these apartments are hung with large portraits of Philip II., of Phi-

lip III. and his consort; of the Count Duke de Olivarez, all five on horseback, painted by Velasquez, and those of Philip V. and Queen Isabella Farnese, by Charles Vanloo. It is not requisite to be a connoisseur, in order to remark the superiority of the former over the latter. The elegant proportions of the charger of Philip the fourth, the attitude and the life which seems to animate his whole body, are truly admirable.

From this apartment you pass to the audience chamber of the monarch. The Apotheosis of Hercules, painted on the ceiling, is one of the masterly performances of Mengs. The Annunciation, his last piece, upon which he was employed at Rome, when a premature death deprived the fine arts of this great painter, has been deposited in this hall. The Virgin has a remarkable sweetness and modesty of expression; but it were to be wished, that the physiognomy and attitude of the angel Gabriel were more suitable to his mission. There is also a painting in this hall, called the Homage of the Shepherds, by the same master, which is a very finished piece, full of grace and expression. His works formed the chief ornament of the bedchamber of Charles III. who took particular delight in the productions of this great painter. There is, in particular, a most admirable *Descent from the Cross*, which connoisseurs consider as his master-piece. A spectator is never weary of contemplating

the expressive sorrow of the beloved disciple, the sublime attitude of the Virgin, whose uplifted eyes implore heaven for some alleviation of her unspeakable anguish, and the milder but not less moving affliction of Magdalen, whose beauty is not impaired by the general grief which she shares; and lastly the body of Christ, which the Chevalier Azara, an intimate friend of the author, and an excellent connoisseur in paintings, could never sufficiently admire, on account of the natural expression, the divine character, and the beauty of the flesh, which Mengs has taken care not to exhibit, like most other painters, mangled and shrunk by long continued sufferings.

The chamber adjoining to the hall of the throne is full of master-pieces of the Italian school. Among more than a dozen capital paintings by Titian, you distinguish a Venus blindfolding Cupid; and its counterpart, the subject of which, a group of two beautiful women, with a warrior standing between them, is also to be found in the French museum; a Venus at her toilet; a Sysiphus; a Prometheus; but above all, the picture of Adam and Eve, which has for a counterpart the copy executed by Rubens, which, however, in the opinion of Mengs, only serves to render the inimitable excellence of the original more conspicuous.

In the same apartment you are likewise gratified with the sight of two paintings by Paul Ve-

ronese, of several by Bassano, a Judith by Tintoret, and in a contiguous chamber you behold some by Giordano, and one by Spagnoletto.

The next apartment is likewise furnished with paintings. We shall only mention two capital performances by Velasquez, one representing Vulcan's forge, the other a Spanish general receiving the keys of a town.

In the adjoining chambers, amidst a multitude of pictures by the first artists, you remark the Homage of the Kings by Rubens, and a Christ bearing the Cross by Raphael, two pieces which are alone equivalent to a valuable collection. Into the first, Rubens has transfused all the magic of his pencil, all the richness of his draperies, and all the magnificence of his composition. How admirably is the majestic air of one of the three kings depicted! His carriage, attitude, and retinue, appear to announce that he is delegated by the universe to congratulate its divine author, upon an event of the greatest importance to the human species. But how truly affecting and sublime is the expression which animates the painting of Raphael! The Saviour of the world sinking beneath the pressure of his cross, rather than that of his grief, preserving in the midst of his persecutors who overwhelm him with abuse and derision, the most admirable composure and serenity, which, of itself, might suffice to disarm their cruelty; regardless of his own sufferings,

but administering consolation to his afflicted mother, who strives to mollify the rage of his persecutors, attended by a retinue of women bewailing his fate. The impression produced by these two grand compositions, diverts our attention from several pieces by Titian, Vandyke, nay even from some by Raphael himself, and two masterly performances by Correggio.

The apartments formerly occupied by Maria Josephina, sister to his present majesty,* contain an assemblage of paintings of a different kind; this is the profane part of the palace of Madrid. In an anterior hall, you behold with interest an imitation of the manner of Rubens by Giordano, who has represented that artist engaged upon the portrait of a princess, several voluptuous paintings by that master of the Flemish school; a combat of gladiators, in which you recognize the energy of Lanfranc's pencil; but above all, a capital piece by Poussin, the subject of which forms a striking contrast with the devout *chef d'œuvres* we have just noticed. This is a dance formed by a group of nymphs around the statue of the god of gardens. The diversity of their attitudes, equally graceful and expressive, the elegance of their shape, and the beauty of their forms, depict the pleasures of youth and love.

* This infanta died in 1801, universally regretted, on account of the simplicity of her manners, and her amiable disposition.

Some of them encircle the statue of the lascivious god with garlands, others ——————but we will draw a veil over this part of the picture, which the modesty of the painter has purposely thrown into the shade.

The adjoining apartments are furnished with paintings of inferior merit, if we except one grand composition by Paul Veronese, and another by Lanfranc.

The large room where the infanta dined in public, is solely embellished by the indefatigable pencil of Giordano, whose fertility of invention at first produces astonishment, but ultimately lassitude. In an adjoining cabinet you find some more paintings by Rubens, and an excellent portrait of Charles V., painted below the knee, by Titian. It has been engraved by Selma, one of the most celebrated artists at Madrid.

I might likewise notice several other pictures, in the apartments formerly occupied by the two infants, the brothers of the king, and in particular, some by Rubens, in which the freshness of his colouring, and the vivacity of his imagination are exhibited in all their splendour. But I am apprehensive lest I should tire the reader by a dry catalogue. I have already said enough to convince him that the collection of the Spanish monarch is one of the most valuable in Europe. It contains few paintings of the French school, but abounds in the masterly pieces of Italy, of

Flanders, and of Spain. The Spanish school, inferior in celebrity to the two first, deserves to be better known. Beyond the confines of Spain, we scarcely hear of the names of Navarette, Alonzo Cano, Zurbaran, Zerezo, Cabezalero, Blas de Prado, Joanes, &c.; but who enjoy among their countrymen a reputation to which they are in many respects justly entitled. In France, the names of the more celebrated Spanish masters, are known merely by hearsay. Such, for example, are the names of Rivera, surnamed Spagnoletto, who, although a Spaniard by birth, belongs rather to Italy than to his native country; of Velasquez, famous for correctness of design, and fidelity in perspective; of Murillo, one of the first artists in the world for the beauty and freshness of his carnation, and sweetness of expression; the same Murillo, whose performances have been so long a desideratum in France, and have at length found a place in the museum at Paris.*

* In France, where almost all foreign names are disfigured, he is known by the appelation of Morillos. There are but three of his performances in the museum Napoleon: one of these is a Virgin, the drapery and colouring of which produce a magical effect, but whose figure is deficient in dignity; the second is a holy family; and the third a young beggar looking for the vermin in the folds of his ragged garments. More than one Spanish painter has employed his pencil in the delineation

The palace of Madrid is entirely new. The former palace, occupied by Philip V. having been consumed by fire in 1734, that prince was desirous to have it rebuilt in the same place. A Piedmontese architect presented a magnificent plan, the model of which is preserved in a neighbouring building. Philip V. startled at the magnificence of the design, adopted a more simple plan, which, however, proved equally expensive in the execution, and is not yet finished. For more than twelve years past, they have been employed in building two additional wings to the palace, which will give it a less massive appearance, but will likewise hide the principal front.

On your way to this front, you traverse a large irregular place, at the extremity of which, is the *armeria*, or arsenal, comprizing a collection of ancient and foreign arms, disposed in fine order, and preserved with great care. The armour of the ancient American warriors is more worthy of attention than the wrought armour set with precious stones, or the complete suit of mail of some of the kings of Spain, and in particular of St. Ferdinand. The persons who ex-

of disgusting objects. These three pieces, in our opinion, are calculated to afford but a very imperfect idea of the superior talents of Murillo.

hibit these curiosities never fail to give the traveller a special detail of them all, and if he even be a Frenchman, they would on no account omit shewing him the sword worn by Francis I. at the battle of Pavia.

The kings of the Austrian dynasty seldom resided in the palace bordering upon the Mançanares, and the site of which is occupied by the new palace. They spent the greatest part of the year at a villa situated on an eminence at the other end of the town, which was denominated Buen Retiro. For this villa Philip V. conceived an extraordinary partiality. After the destruction of the old palace, the Retiro was his sole residence at Madrid until the period of his death. It was likewise the only palace of Ferdinand VI., and Charles III. passed the first years of his reign at this place, to the no small dissatisfaction of his queen, Amelia, a Saxon princess, who was constantly contrasting the magnificent landscapes of Naples, which she had left behind her, with these barren regions. Never had a royal residence less the appearance of a palace than Buen Retiro. It is a very irregular building, and exhibits nothing majestic in any one point of view. It comprehends, however, a long suite of apartments, which at a small expence might be made commodious. The gardens which they overlook are ill supplied with water, in a ruinous condition, and serve at present for a public walk.

In these gardens, however, there are some statues deserving the attention of inquisitive travellers; for instance, that of Charles V. trampling upon a monster, which is supposed to be the emblem of heresy; but above all, an equestrian statue of Philip IV. executed by Peter Tacca, an able Florentine statuary (See Plate VI). The palace of Retiro likewise contained a great number of valuable paintings, the best part of which have been removed to the new palace. The apartment called the *Cason* is remarkable for the magnificence of its decorations, and especially for its ceiling, on which Luca Giordano has given an allegorical representation of the institution of the order of the Golden Fleece.

We shall only mention two other paintings in this palace: one of them represents Philip V. advanced in years, seated beside his consort, and surrounded by his children. The decorations of the apartment in this picture by Charles Vanloo, are overcharged. The brilliant colouring of the furniture makes the figures appear dull. We cannot, however, remain unconcerned spectators of an assembly of princes and princesses, who have acted a conspicuous part on the theatre of the world.

The other piece is less remarkable for the merits of the composition, than for the scene it delineates. It is a faithful representation of the last solemn *Auto-da-fé* held in 1680, in the Plaza

Mayor at Madrid, in the presence of the whole court of Charles II. The balconies are crowded with spectators, attracted by motives of pious curiosity. The tremendous tribunal appears elevated in the middle of the square. The judges there await their victims, who with haggard and disfigured countenances, being dressed out in the emblems of their punishment, approach to hear their doom. Some are attended by monks, who administer their last exhortations; others are seen staggering and fainting on the steps of the tribunal. A number of gloomy reflections overwhelm the mind of the spectator. Let us turn our eyes from this tremendous picture, and fix them upon more agreeable objects.

The theatre of the Retiro is in a good state of repair: the pit is small, but planned with much taste. The theatre, which is very spacious, opens at the further extremity upon the gardens of the palace, with which it stands on a level. This frequently afforded an opportunity of heightening the effect of theatrical illusion, by extending the view to an immense distance, and permitting the display of troops of cavalry. But all these illusions are vanished, the house is forsaken, its decorations are mouldering in the dust; and this theatre, which, during the reign of Ferdinand VI. re-echoed with the most harmonious sounds, is now doomed to mournful silence, which for

the space of seven years, has not been interrupted more than thrice.

Such are the revolutions of courts, according to the taste and caprice of their sovereign. That of Ferdinand VI., magnificent and fond of diversions, had naturalized in Spain the fairy scenes of the Italian theatres, under the direction of Farinelli the musician, who owed to his talents the extraordinary favour which he enjoyed, and which excited no murmurs, because he never abused it. Under Charles III. Euterpe and Terpsichore lost their influence. This monarch, more simple in his manners, more uniform in his taste, indifferent to profane amusements, banished them from his abode, and confined his patronage to the dumb arts and sciences. A stranger to love, and equally insensible, during a reign of thirty years, to friendship, if we except the Marquis Squilaci, who had well nigh cost him dear, and Pini, an Italian valet de chambre, who only acted an obscure and inferior part, he had not one professed favourite; and being fortified by superstition against the allurements of sense, he passed twenty-nine years of his life without either a wife or a mistress, an example perhaps without a parallel in the history of kings. Libertines were constrained to disguise their sentiments in order to obtain access to the throne; and never was a court less noted for gallantry than the court of Charles III.

That of Charles IV. is of a complexion less austere than that of his father, and is by no means inimical to pleasures, but enjoys them without show; and if the system of favouritism prevails here, it is however very venial, because it is manifested with dignity, it is exercised with generosity, and creates as little discontent as possible. This court is, in one particular, more popular than the three former, because the royal favour is chiefly bestowed upon Spaniards; and the queen, although a native of Italy, has for a long time adopted the national sentiments; whereas, in the three former reigns, court favour was almost entirely in the hands of foreigners. This circumstance alone would suffice to counteract a revolution, which some other measures might appear to foment. Lastly, in order to conclude the parallel of the four reigns of the house of Bourbon, in Spain, for we say nothing of that of Louis I. which did not last a year, we may affirm that they present us with a very rare picture of an uninterrupted succession of four kings not endowed with any shining talents, but distinguished for their probity, their humanity, and sincere piety; who have perhaps not always bestowed their favours with discernment, but have, at least, never wilfully done wrong.

Within the circuit of the gardens of Buen Retiro, is a china manufactory, to which every person has hitherto been denied access. This

prohibition is doubtless owing to a wish that this manufactory, which has not yet produced any finished specimens of art, may silently make advances towards perfection, before its productions are exposed to the view of the curious. They are only to be seen in the royal palace, and at some Italian courts, to which they have been sent as presents. Charles III. tacitly acknowledged the superiority of the French manufactures of this description, by excluding the court of Versailles from any share in his donations, although the latter for a considerable time punctually transmitted every year some of the finest specimens of the manufactory of Seves to the princess of Asturias. Louis XV. had established this custom from a partiality to his grand-daughter, and his successor did not think it right to discontinue the practice.

In the same edifice in which this china manufactory is established, people are employed, with the most profound secrecy, in preparing certain articles of inlaid work, hitherto but little known in Europe. Generally speaking, the Retiro, its apartments, and gardens, are almost entirely forsaken by the court; but Charles III. made great improvements in its environs.

This ancient palace commands a view of the fashionable walk of the Prado, so long celebrated in the novels and dramatic compositions of Spain. This renown has been cheaply bought; for the

place was formerly in itself of little consequence, but derived its reputation from having been the stage upon which several remarkable scenes have been exhibited. The proximity of the palace, the shady retreats, nay even the inequality of the grounds, were propitious to intrigues, and also to perilous rencounters. But Charles III. has transformed it into a magnificent walk, which may be frequented with safety and satisfaction at all seasons of the year, partly by levelling the ground and planting it with trees, and partly by illuminating the alleys; by adorning it with fountains and statues, some of which, for example that of Cybele, are executed in a very fine style. It occupies the space of half a league, and forms part of the interior of the city. Some of the principal streets terminate here. That of Alcala, one of the most spacious streets in Europe, crosses it, and then runs along the gardens of the Retiro, and finally terminates at a gate of the same name, which, although rather heavy, is however one of the finest monuments of the metropolis.

From every quarter, the citizens crowd to the Prado, both on foot and in carriages, mingle together, and, under the shade of long alleys, inhale a salubrious air, attempered by the waters of the fountains, and perfumed with the fragrant exhalations of the flowers. The crowds assembled here are sometimes prodigious. I have be-

held a procession of four or five hundred carriages, advancing in the greatest order, and surrounded by an immense multitude of pedestrians, a sight indicating at once great wealth and a numerous population, but which would be still more gratifying, if the equipages displayed more taste and diversity. In the room of that motley variety of apparel and head-dresses, which in other public places of Europe, agreeably diversify the scene, you only behold on foot at the Prado, women dressed in an uniform style, muffled up in long veils, black or white, which conceal part of their faces; and men, for the most part, wrapped up in huge cloaks of a dark colour; insomuch that the Prado, however beautiful it may be, seems, in a peculiar sense, to be the parade of Castilian gravity. This is more especially conspicuous every evening; when the first solemn sounds of the *angelus* invade the ears of the pedestrians, they instantly uncover their heads, make a sudden stop, as if arrested by some invisible hand, abruptly breaking off the most tender discourse, and the most serious discussions, in order to devote a few minutes to prayer. Woe betide the profane individual who should dare to disturb this hallowed interval of silence, which impiety may perhaps deride, but which never fails to make an awful impression even upon a philosophic observer. The prayers of the *angelus* being ended, the company resume

their walk, and the conversation is begun afresh. A whole people have just worshipped their Creator, under the canopy of the heavens. Of what consequence is it whether the Virgin Mary officiated as a mediatrix on the occasion; their homage was certainly not less sincere, nor were the dispositions of their minds less pious.

The botanical garden serves greatly to heighten the beauty of the Prado.* It was formerly situated on the road leading from Madrid to the palace of the Prado. Some years before his demise, Charles III. assigned it another site, on one side of the public walk, and encompassed it with an enclosure which is so low, that it serves as an ornament to the garden, without concealing it from view. Every day adds something to its embellishments. Any one may easily obtain leave to spend a few hours here, and even those who have no tase for botany, will find it a most delightful retreat, overshadowed with trees, and abounding with plants from all the quarters of the globe. The productions of the vegetable kingdom are arranged in squares, conformably to the method of Linnæus. The names of the plants are inscribed on tickets, enclosed in little tubes of tin, and placed at the foot of each of them; which is a contrivance very useful and convenient for

* The learned Cavanilles, who died in 1803, was director of this garden for a number of years.

those who are not adepts in the science. It is evident that the Spanish monarch has it in his power to form in the vegetable kingdom, in particular, the most valuable collection in the world; that monarch whose vast dominions occasioned this beautiful line of Piron :

Et l'Espagne est partout, où luit l'astre du jour.

With such a diversity of soil and climate, this vast monarchy must needs produce all the various trees, shrubs, and plants which grow on the surface of the earth. Till within these twenty-eight years, no effort has been made to improve these signal advantages. At the commencement of his administration of the Indies, Galvez earnestly recommended to all officers, civil, military, and ecclesiastical, within the whole circuit of the Colonies, to transmit to Spain, whatever appeared worthy of notice in the three kingdoms of nature. His directions have been complied with, at least, in respect to the vegetable kingdom. Scarcely a year elapses without announcing the arrival from the Spanish Indies of some new plants, which augment the collection of the metropolis, or at least the importation of seeds, of roots and slips, which they endeavour to naturalize in the botanical garden at Madrid. Young botanists, whom the court maintains in Mexico, Peru, and elsewhere, transmit, along with their consignments, a description of the plants imme-

diately within their observation, of the soil and atmosphere that appear most congenial with them, and of the culture they require. Conformably with these instructions, the professors of botany, with Don Casimir Ortega at their head, deposit the germs, transmitted to them in the earth, and attended by their disciples, they watch with the most wistful solicitude their different appearances during their growth, in order to compare the properties of these exotic plants with the description that has been sent to them. I have more than once been present at their lectures, which are highly amusing and instructive. I have seen with what fidelity nature adheres to her laws, even at intervals which astonish the imagination, and have witnessed her benevolence in communicating to all mankind the treasures which she has scattered over the surface of the earth. At these meetings, questions frequently occur, which are difficult to be resolved. More than one exotic plant makes us sensible of the incompetence of the methods invented by our European scholars, and sometimes it is not easy to classify them without an arbitrary procedure.

The same experiment which has been tried in the department of plants with so much success, I have often been tempted by a sportive imagination to extend to all the three kingdoms of nature, by appropriating the space left vacant by the botanical garden, along the Prado, to a pro-

ject which is doubtless unrivalled in its kind throughout Europe, and which could only be accomplished by the monarch of Spain.* Wherefore, for example, might he not parcel out this tract into as many subdivisions as there are nations subjected to his sway? Here he might domiciliate a Peruvian, a Mexican, a Californian family; there one from Paraguay, another from Cuba, a third from the Phillipines. Each of them might here retain its native style of dress and of living; each of them might construct its own habitation, after the model of those it has forsaken; they might cultivate here the trees and shrubs which overshadowed their primitive dwellings, or the plants which administered to their early wants; they might fancy themselves with more truth than de Bougainville's young Potaveri, still resident in their mother country. With what delight would the inquisitive amateurs of Europe flock to see this living cabinet of natural history, a cabinet unrivalled in its

* I understand that M. de Czernichew, after having read the first edition of my work at London, thought the wish I expressed here might not perhaps appear altogether chimerical to the Empress of Russia, renowned for her predilection for extraordinary undertakings, and who, amidst the variety of manners and climates abounding within the circumference of her vast empire, might find nearly the same resources as the King of Spain, in domiciliating some of her provincial subjects on the banks of the Neva. This plan was actually presented to Catherine II. but I know not what reception it met with.

kind, in which the objects themselves would be the *Ciceroni* of a traveller? Without crossing the ocean, he would there behold the Mexican gathering from the leaves of his native nopal, those valuable insects which communicate their rich dye to our European dresses; he would behold the inhabitant of Guatimala cultivating his indigo, and the native of Paraguay, the herb, which constitutes the principal source of his wealth. He would behold the Peruvian accompanied by that faithful animal, which shares his labours, which supplies him with food and raiment; and the Luconian plying those various labours, in which he was heretofore engaged in his native isle. Thus the proud inmate of the metropolis, without once leaving the capital, might explore, as it were, on a topographical chart, all the colonies to which his sovereign gives law. The native of the colonies himself, would here become inured to an exile, the hardships of which every thing would conspire to alleviate; and his countrymen, from whom he is separated by boundless oceans, being made acquainted through him, with the munificence and grandeur of their common monarch, would conceive more exalted notions of his power, would feel a pride in being his subjects, and be gradually persuaded to consider the Spaniards of the old world as their countrymen, instead of their oppressors; a gradual and pacific revolution of

sentiments, which might serve to obviate, or at least to retard the miseries and dangers attendant on a more violent political schism.

Till this project, which may, perhaps, be regarded as romantic, shall be realized, the Spanish monarchs have in the mean time, founded a cabinet of natural history, which is already one of the most complete collections in Europe in metals, minerals, marbles, precious stones, corals, madrepores, and other marine productions. The classes of fishes, of birds, and chiefly of quadrupeds, are still very defective; but the measures adopted of late years by government, are calculated, although perhaps by a slow and gradual progress, to render this cabinet as copious as possible.

One of the most valuable donations, it has received from Spanish America, was transmitted in 1782, in a great measure, through the laudable zeal of a worthy and enlightened Frenchman, whose enterprising spirit and adventures are deserving of notice.*

M. Dombey, a young physician, who was on

* I was personally acquainted with M. Dombey. He made me the confidant of his distress, which I sought to alleviate; but the narrative inserted here, I have chiefly extracted from an interesting account of his life and labours published in the *Annals of the Museum of Natural History* for 1804, by a scholar, (M. Deleuze) equally estimable for his genius and science, and much more competent than myself to appreciate his merits.

terms of intimacy with Jean-Jaques Rousseau, about that period, when the latter was amusing himself with the study of botany, was selected in 1775 by M. Turgot and M. de Jussieu, to undertake a voyage to Peru, in order to make a collection of plants unknown in Europe. He arrived at Madrid in November, 1776. Two young pupils of Don Casimir Ortega, professor of botany, Messrs. Ruiz and Pabon, were given him as assistants. After a perilous voyage, they arrived in Peru, in April, 1778.

In his first excursion to Quito, Dombey took accurate drawings of three hundred plants, many of which were new to the old world. His salary was very moderate; nevertheless, he gave professional advice gratuitously; but his good sense, and the confidence he acquired amongst the Peruvians of both sexes, supplied him with resources. He was even useful to government by his counsel, and also by pecuniary donations, during the formidable rebellion at Tupacamaro in 1780.

The vessel which conveyed the first specimens of his industry to Europe, was taken by the English, but ransomed at Lisbon by the Spanish court, which transmitted to Paris, duplicates of the dried plants and seeds he had collected, but not the vases, the dresses, and other curious articles which were intended for the king of France.

In 1782, he went to Chili. On his arrival he found that country desolated by an epidemic distemper. He did not hesitate to endanger his personal safety, and proved so fortunate as to subdue the contagion. He was adored as a tutelary deity. In the mean time he prosecuted his labours with indefatigable assiduity. He filled twenty chests with plants, minerals, and shell-fish. At Coquimbo he opened afresh a mine of quicksilver, which had been abandoned for fifty years: he discovered a new gold mine, and performed other services. In Chili he found a valuable tree, denominated by M. de la Marck, *Dombeya*, and by M. de Jussieu, *Arancaria*. He fell dangerously ill, whilst he was making his last collection, consisting of seventy three chests. On his recovery he set sail for Europe in 1784, after a residence of six years in South America. His passage to Europe was very boisterous; and he was obliged to put into Rio Janeiro, where the viceroy presented him with a fine collection of stuffed birds, of insects and shells. He employed his stay at the Brazils to the best advantage, and collected there two hundred new plants. On the 22d February, 1785, he arrived at Cadiz, where new and unexpected disappointments awaited him. The collection made by the two Spanish botanists whom he had left in Peru, had been put on board the ship St. Peter d'Alcantara, which was lost, together with the whole cargo. The

collection he brought with him in the Peruviano, was his own exclusive property. It, however, fell a sacrifice to malicious ignorance, and he himself was persecuted by the cruel jealousy of some subaltern officers, whose conduct was certainly not countenanced by superior authority. His chests were opened in the most negligent manner, and a large portion of their contents was damaged. As a compensation for this loss, for which he could not be responsible, he was enjoined to surrender one half of his collection to the Spanish court. Fortunately, however, he superintended this division himself, and as the commissioners nominated by the Spanish government were not as intelligent as himself, the portion which fell to the share of France, proved to be the most valuable. Thus he was detained for six months at Cadiz, without money or credit, nay even without meeting with that respect which he so amply deserved in many respects. After so many fatigues and disappointments, his memory was impaired, and his intellects were for some time disordered. At length he embarked for Havre with his chests, and arrived at Paris greatly disheartened by his misfortunes. A promise had been previously extorted from him not to publish any thing before the return of the Spanish botanists to Europe, and it was his design to fulfil this engagement with the most

scrupulous fidelity. M. de Buffon advanced him a sum of money sufficient to discharge his debts. He consigned his herbary to *M. l'Heritier*, one of our ablest naturalists, in order to prepare it for the press. But the court of Spain claimed it, and M. de Buffon was commissioned to enforce the recovery. *M. l'Heritier*, however, effected his escape, and conveyed Dombey's herbary to England. But the storms of the revolution overtook him in the midst of his labours, and Dombey died * without having enjoyed the satisfaction of seeing the public derive any benefit from his labours. L'Heritier himself miserably perished before he had brought his undertaking to a conclusion. In the mean time about the year 1788, the two Spanish botanists, Don Hypolito Ruiz, and Don Joseph Pabon returned to Europe. In 1794, they published a prefatory work, entitled, *Floræ Peruviensis et Chilensis prodromus;* in which they give an historical account of Spanish

* He died in prison in 1794, in the island of Montserat, after having been taken by the English on his way to North America, impelled by a restless zeal for the advancement of natural history. Amongst other pleasures the amateurs of gardens are indebted to him for the importation of that elegant Peruvian shrub, whose handsome blossoms have such a delicious fragrance, that the Spaniards, at a loss under what class it ought to be specified, named it *Louisidora*, in honour of the Queen of Spain, but which our naturalists have discovered to be a variety of the *Vervain*, and have denominated *Verbena triphylla*.

botany. Four years after this appeared their *Systema vegetabilium Floræ Peruvianæ et Chilensis;* and last of all, in 1799, their splendid work in two folio volumes, entitled, *Flora Peruviana et Chilensis,* a most valuable monument erected to botany, by a nation wrongfully supposed to be behind-hand in all the sciences. But might not this have been accomplished many years before by the excellent and industrious Dombey? And would it not have been the case, had he not been the sport of the most malignant persecution? M. de Humboldt, another scholar, not inferior in courage, but superior in fortune and erudition, during his ever-memorable travels in South America, has experienced the greatest civilities both from the government and natives of Old and New Spain. On his arrival at Madrid, in 1799, he requested permission to make observations in that immense continent, which, in a scientific point of view, has hitherto been so little known to its conquerors and its inhabitants. His request was granted with the politeness which characterizes a government zealous for the advancement and circulation of knowledge. The king condescended to forward his undertaking, and his example was followed by all his agents in Spain and America. M. de Humboldt experienced every where and upon all occasions, the most cordial reception, the most effectual aid,

and a benevolent patronage, by which the Spaniards have acquired the highest claims upon his gratitude, and also deserve the thanks of all enlightened men, who are about to reap the fruit of his labours.

But how comes it to pass, that a short interval of twenty years should produce such a revolution in their character? Why should M. Dombey have had to encounter so many thorns, whereas M. de Mumboldt has gathered nothing but roses? Have twenty years made such a prodigious change in the character of the Spanish nation? No; during both periods, that nation was equally noble, generous and hospitable. A few individuals substituted in the room of others, will suffice to explain this difference.

But to return to the cabinet of natural history, which has occasioned this digression. The edifice comprising this collection, which, together with the custom-house, was built by Charles III. constitutes the chief ornament of the street of Alcala, and is likewise appropriated to the meetings of the academy of fine arts; a destination which is very happily expressed by the following inscription: *Carolus III. naturam et artem sub uno tecto in publicam utilitatem consociavit anno M.DCC.LXXIV.*

Philip V. however is the real founder of this academy; but Ferdinand VI. having conceived

a peculiar affection for it, gave it, in honour of his patron, the appellation of the accademy of *San Fernando*; and Charles III. deserved well of it by assigning it a more appropriate edifice. The minister of foreign affairs is the president, who, every third year, distributes the prizes among those young pupils, who have produced the best specimens of sculpture, of painting, and also the best models of architecture. Although it contains several members eminent in the three arts, we must confess, however, that its masterpieces are but few in number, and that the prizes distributed are rather encouragements than rewards. But the court of Spain likewise maintains a number of hopeful pupils at Rome; and some members of this academy are employed in executing engravings of the numerous *chef d'œuvres* which adorn its palaces of Madrid.

This academy not only contributes towards the improvement of the fine arts in Spain, by the formation of pupils; it is also the supreme tribunal, to whose decision, the plans of all the edifices, both sacred and profane, constructed within the kingdom are submitted. This institution is well calculated, in process of time, to substitute good taste in the room of those barbarous relics which are conspicuous in the major part of these monuments, and which are also observable in some of the gates, in the ancient fountains, and

in most of the churches of the capital; rude essays emanating from the cradle of the arts, when more pains were taken in conjuring up monsters, than are now displayed in the production of master-pieces. The modern edifices sufficiently attest the revolution which architecture has undergone under the dynasty of the Bourbons. Besides the new palace at Madrid, we might adduce in proof of this, the gates of Alcala and St. Vincent, the custom-house; and above all, a superb edifice bordering the Prado, beyond the gardens of the Retiro, which was begun ten years ago. It is designed for a museum, whither the cabinet of natural history will be transferred, and where the meetings of several academies will be held. The building has been interrupted by the war, but will be resumed on the return of peace. This beautiful monument will surpass every other in the metropolis, and will add not a little to the fame of its architect, Villanueva.

Besides these, there are few edifices at Madrid which are worth the attention of a traveller. This capital is upon the whole well laid out. The streets, without being straight, are wide, and not very crooked; it is about three leagues and a half in circumference, and three quarters of a league at most in length, or breadth. The infrequency of rain, and the vigilance of the police, render it one of

the cleanest cities in Europe; but, except the Prado and its avenues, this metropolis cannot boast any handsome quarters. The *Plaza Mayor*, which the Spaniards are accustomed to extol, does no credit to their enthusiasm. It is of a quadrangular, but irregular form, environed by buildings, five or six stories high, of uniform architecture, but without any decorations, and under which are long piazzas. It is illuminated on solemn occasions, and at such times, it exhibits a spectacle truly grand. Formerly, the *auto-da-fès* were held in this place, with all their tremendous apparatus. It has long been the theatre of the bull-fights, which are celebrated during the period of those festivities of the court known by the appellation of *Fiestas Reales*. Here is a tolerably handsome edifice, where the academy of history holds its meetings, and containing its library, its museum, manuscripts, and medals. In this square, provisions and merchandize of all descriptions are exposed for sale. All these circumstances combined, have made it the most remarkable spot in the capital, and have conferred on it a reputation which it might herhaps have deserved when it was originally built, but which must now be annihilated, since architecture has arrived at such perfection in other quarters of Europe, as to have created forty squares more elegant than the *Plaza Myaor*. This square has

been greatly disfigured by a fire, which, about nine years ago, reduced one of its sides almost entirely to ashes. Its beauty is likewise impaired by a vast number of booths, by which it is in some places rendered impassable. It is however the quarter of Madrid which conveys the most favourable conceptions of the population of this metropolis, and if we may judge from the concourse of people assembled at all hours of the day in this square, and in the adjacent streets, including in our estimate the *Puerta del sol*, a transverse street, which is the rendezvous of all the loungers and newsmongers, we should scarcely be able to persuade ourselves that Madrid did not contain more than 155,672 domiciliated inhabitants, according to the computation of 1787. According to a more recent estimate of the population of Madrid by Don Thomas Lopez, it amounts to 130,980 souls, exclusive of the garrison, the hospitals, and the foundlings. According to the same geographer, Madrid contains 7100 houses, 77 churches, 44 convents of males, and 31 of females.

The administration published about three or four years ago, a new estimate of the population of Spain, made by order of his majesty in 1797, which is declared in the official Gazette to be more complete than that of 1787, digested by Count de Florida Blanca. We shall lay be-

fore the reader the result and most prominent features of this calculation.*

* I am as yet unacquainted with the details of the enumeration of 1797. The population of Spain will, however, be hereafter as accurately known as that of other European countries, the curates throughout the whole monarchy having been enjoined to transmit, regularly every month, to government, a list of the births, deaths, and marriages within their respective parishes, beginning with the first year of the present century.

CHAP. IX.

Population of Spain. Principal churches at Madrid. Painters. Engravers. Printing-Office. Pious foundations.

In 1768, the Spanish government had caused an enumeration to be made, which it had reason to suppose defective, as it had not been executed with proper care, and the people, having erroneously conjectured that the object of this regulation was a fresh taxation upon houses, endeavoured to impose upon the commissioners by false reports. The first calculation, therefore, did not produce more than 9,159,999 souls, whilst that of 1787, executed with more accuracy on the one hand, and more security on the other, gave a product of 10,268,150, which makes a surplus of 1,108,151.

The strictness of government produced a still greater disparity.

In 1787, the undermentioned classes were found less by the numbers prefixed to each than in 1768.

11,044 religious persons of both sexes.
17,213 ecclesiastics, or persons belonging to the clergy.
6,829 persons attached to monastic professions, or to the order of the Cross.
242,205 hidalgos, or noblemen.

Sum total 277,291, all of them persons who, by usurping titles, or making false reports were incorporated with the privileged orders, and thus obtained an exemption from personal imposts.

In 1768, the estimate of population was made by bishoprics; in 1787, by governments, or provinces. The following table will serve to illustrate the difference in these two enumerations.

		Results of the enumeration of 1768.	*Results of that of 1787.*
Number of	boys, bachelors, and widowers -	2,809,069	3,162,007
	girls, unmarried females, and widows.	2,911,858	3,215,482
	married men and women -	3,439,072	3,891,661
	Total	9,159,999	10,269,150

		Results of the enumeration of 1768.	*Results of that of 1787.*
Number of	cities, towns, and villages	16,427	18,716
	parishes	18,106	18,972
	church dignitaries, vicars, &c.	51,048	42,707
	convents for men	2,004	2,019
	convents for women	1,026	1,048
	monks	55,453	57,515
	nuns	27,665	24,559
	persons attached to the clergy	25,248	16,376
	syndics of religious orders	8,552	4,127
	pensioners of the military tribunal	89,393	77,884
	pensioners of the king	27,577	36,465
	dependents on the order of the Cross	4,248	1,844
	dependents on the inquisition	2,645	2,705
	hidalgos, or nobles	722,794	480,589

From this enumeration, we also learn the proportions of the different orders and professions.

There were found 145 cities, bearing the appellation of *Ciudades*, besides 4,572 towns, simply denominated *villas*, 12,732 villages, 907,197 husbandmen, 964,571 day-labourers, 270,989

mechanics, 280,092 domestics, 50,994 students 39,750 manufacturers.

We learn, moreover, the relative population of each of the provinces, and discover, what would otherwise barely amount to a conjecture, that the resources derived from the vicinity of the ocean, perhaps also the quality of the food supplied by that vicinity, provided these two advantages be associated with a fertile soil, will suffice to counterbalance the inconveniences of a bad administration; because Galicia, half of which is monopolized by the clergy, being destitute of canals, of navigable rivers, and almost of roads, having no other sources of industry than the manufacture of linens, navigation, and fishery; Galicia, I say, which has a soil adapted to every species of culture, being encompassed on two sides by the ocean, and exempt from that fatal scourge, the *mesta*, is beyond comparison the most populous province of Spain, although it is far from being the most extensive. In 1787 its population was computed at 1,345,803 souls; whereas Catalonia, with a territory almost twice as extensive, and where industry is much more flourishing, only contains 814,412 inhabitants; Arragon only 623,308; and lastly, Estramadura, the surface of which exceeds that of Galicia by one-fourth, scarcely comprizes 417,000 souls.

With regard to the population of Madrid, we

must take into the account that this capital has a regular garrison of six to ten thousand men, that it is moreover the rendezvous of persons who have any thing to solicit of the government from all parts of Spain and of the Indies, besides a considerable number of foreigners; so that it will be no exaggerated estimate if we compute its standard population at one hundred and eighty thousand souls.

The sacred edifices have nothing remarkable in their architecture, although the Abbé Ponz has filled nearly a whole volume with a description of these monuments. Many of them, however, contain valuable collections of paintings, which are even calculated to excite admiration in persons who have seen those of the Escurial and of the new palace.

The little church of San Pasqual, on the Prado, incloses within its narrow compass and smoky walls two paintings by Titian, several by Spagnoletto, one of the best pieces of Bassano, two by Guercino, &c. The church of St. Isabella also contains some masterpieces of Spagnoletto, more especially the Assumption on the high altar, a capital performance, of which there is an engraving. But no church at Madrid comprizes a larger and more select gallery than that of the barefooted Carmelites, in the street of Alcala. How often have I repaired to the spacious sacristy

of these monks, the most wealthy of any at Madrid, in order to contemplate with a mixture of envy and admiration treasures so egregiously misplaced and undervalued. Amongst other paintings, there are many by Spanish artists, whose deserts entitle them to a reputation far greater than they enjoy; by *Zurbaran, Zereza, Spagnoletto, Murillo, Giordano*; Charles V. haranguing his soldiers, by Titian; a Lord's Supper, by Vandyke; several paintings by *Rembrandt*; and in particular, a Tobias, seated in a pensive attitude, beside a hearth, the reflection of which casts a dim light upon his person.

Independently of their pictures, these three churches scarcely deserve attention. An absurd taste prevails in their architecture, as in almost all the religious edifices at Madrid. The only exception is the church of St. Isidro, formerly belonging to the Jesuits, which has a very handsome portico, although it is not altogether free from defects. Its interior is not without beauty, and amongst other paintings of greater or less merit, there is a large piece by Mengs, and an Adoration by Titian.

There is another church of a much more modern date, which has something imposing at first sight, and which also contains some fine paintings. This is the church of *las Salesas*, or of the Visitation, founded by Ferdinand VI. and Bar-

bara, his queen. The ashes of this royal pair are deposited under two superb mausoleums, which are placed back to back. That of the king, in particular, has an inscription which appears to be a model of the lapidary style. The Spaniards themselves have expressed their own opinion concerning the edifice in these words: *Barbara Reyna, Barbara Gasto, Barbara Obra;* a play upon words, the sense of which can only be fully interpreted in their language, in which the expression, *Barbara,* is equally applicable to the name of the foundress, to the enormous expences and absurd taste of the foundation. Its object, however, is very laudable: a certain number of young ladies are educated here at the expence of the king; it is an appendage to the seminary of nobles, a species of military school, which has been for some time under the direction of that famous academician, *Don George Juan.*

In modern times, immense sums have for a number of years been expended on the construction of a convent of Franciscans, which was expressly designed to be one of the most masterly specimens of architecture in the metropolis. It was finished not long ago, and after all, it is an edifice more remarkable for its solidity than its elegance. The church, however, in the form of a rotunda, ornamented with pilasters, is very striking at first sight. The best masters of the

modern Spanish school, have furnished the paintings of its chapels. In general they are worthy pupils of Mengs; such as Messrs. Maella and Bayeux, also called *el Aragones*, whose colouring and style of design remind us of the manner of their master. The other contributors are Don Antonio Velasquez, Don Andres de la Colleja, Don Joseph Castillo, Don Gregorio Ferro, who excels in the art of imitating the best pictures of the greatest painters; Don Francisco Goya* who possesses a peculiar talent for giving an accurate representation of the manners, the diversions, and costume of his native country. Among the modern painters, we may likewise notice Carnicero, who, with much discernment, copies in miniature those *chef d'œuvres* with which the King has thought proper to embellish his smaller apartments, and also the young Aparicio, whose picture of Athalia, remarked at the grand exhibition of the Louvre in 1804, is a sufficient ground for high expectations.

The modern architecture of Spain can boast of the names of Don Ventura Roderiguez, of Villanueva, of Arnal, of French extraction; and

* Goya likewise excels in portraits as well as Aciena and Esteve. With regard to historical subjects, we may distinguish Don Francisco Ramos, who has realized the expectations, which he raised about twenty years ago by the paintings he sent from Rome to the Academy of Fine Arts at Madrid.

of Don Francisco Sabattini, an Italian, who died some years ago, after having been for some time superintendent of the royal buildings, and chief of the corps of military engineers.

In the department of engraving, there were several distinguished persons; at their head, we may rank *Don Salvador Carmona*, married to the daughter of *Mengs*, who has in a great measure inherited the graceful pencil of her father. He is honourably known in France, where he has gained several prizes offered by our academy of painting. Were we disposed to be censorious, we might say that his talents, either from too little or too late encouragement, have not accomplished the expectations they excited in their early dawn. Several other engravers, as, for example, Messrs. Ferro, Muntaner, Fabregat, Ballester, but more especially M. Selma, have demonstrated, by very successful specimens, that this art continues to make advances towards perfection in Spain. In 1780, a superb edition of Don Quixote appeared in four volumes, quarto, which were embellished with engravings. But these plates, which do not rise above mediocrity, are not answerable to the excellence of the work, which is equally remarkable for the beauty of the paper, the quality of the ink, and the neatness of the type, and may be compared with the most finished performances of this kind which other nations have produced. It would alone

suffice to immortalize the printing office of Ibarra. It is a truly national work, by which the Spaniards have undeceived all Europe, which supposed that among them, the arts were in their cradle. The ink is a composition invented by Ibarra himself, from whom our printers have frequently endeavoured to obtain the secret. The characters were cast by a Catalonian. The paper is likewise of Catalonian manufacture. The learned preface and analysis of Don Quixote prefixed to the work, are the composition of Don Joseph de Guevara, member of the academy of language. The binding itself, although somewhat inferior to the rest, proves that the Spaniards are strangers to nothing which has a reference to the art of typography.

Don Quixote is not the only specimen of ability which they have exhibited in this department. All amateurs are acquainted with the edition of Sallust, translated into Spanish by the Infant Don Gabriel, which ranks higher than any thing executed by Barbou or Baskerville, and is almost equal to the performances of Didot, together with several other typographical works, from the printing-office of Ibarra at Madrid, and from that of Benedict Montfort at Valencia.

Among these typographical specimens, are Mariana, Solis, Garcilasso, the Poem on Music, the *Parnasso Espanol of Sedano*; and above all the masterpiece of Benedict Montfort, the learned

work of Bayer, preceptor to the Infant Don Gabriel, which is entitled: *De nummis hébræo-samaretanis,* 2 vols. folio.

Of late the Spanish engravers have been busily employed upon the portraits of about twenty illustrious persons, kings, generals, and celebrated writers: and many of the Spanish grandees, who have galleries of paintings, whence the public derived no advantage, and which appeared wholly useless towards the advancement of art, have for some years allowed a portion of them to be copied by the best engravers at Madrid. But what is still more praiseworthy than the patronage afforded to the arts, is the number of those monuments of beneficence and charity, comprehended in the single city of Madrid, which exalt it to a superior rank among the capitals of Europe. Here are charitable foundations which deserve to be held out as models of imitation; two fraternities, the funds of which are dedicated to the succour of the unfortunate; a *Mont de Piété,* which advances sums of money to paupers, and which, from 1724 until the conclusion of 1794, has expended more than one hundred and eleven millions of rials, (about 625,000*l.* sterling); moreover a foundling hospital (*inclusa*), which, in 1803, contained one thousand three hundred and eighteen individuals, and three hospitals, of which the following is an account for the year 1803.

I. The *general hospital* for men; a spacious edifice, which was rebuilt about twenty or twenty-five years ago, close to, but without the gate of Atocha, one of the chief gates of the city, at the entrance of the public walk of *las Delicias*.

	In 1803.	In 1801.
Admitted, - - -	21,395 patients;	14,425
Of whom died, -	2,713	
Recovered, - - -	18,180	

II. The hospital known by the name of the Passion, for females.

Admitted in 1803, -	7,400;	in 1801, 5,297
Died, - - - -	1,144	
Recovered, - - -	6,197	

III. The hospital of *San Juan de Dios*, for venereal disorders.

Admitted of both sexes,	3,966;	in 1801, 3,271
Died, - - - - - -	73	
Recovered, - - -	3,613	

General statement of the three hospitals.

	In 1803.	In 1801.
Admitted - - -	32,762	22,822
Died, - - - -	3,930	
Recovered - - -	27,992	

CHAPTER X.

Other Academies. Fate of the New Encyclopedia in Spain. Justification and literary Merits of the Spaniards.

THE Academy of the Fine Arts, is far from being the only one which exists at Madrid. We may even affirm, that if a multitude of literary establishments would suffice to demonstrate the advancement of science and intellectual refinement, this capital would be one of the most learned and most enlightened cities in the universe. It comprizes an academy of medicine, an economical society of the friends of the country, with which is associated a *junta of ladies*, eager to testify their zeal for the public welfare, besides some other juntas, the exertions and titles of which are less conspicuous, but which serve at least to demonstrate the existence of a patriotic enthusiasm, that for some time past has been enkindled among all ranks. There is moreover an academy of Spanish and public law; another of jurisprudence, both theoretical and practical; a third of the sacred canons; a fourth of jurisprudence, civil, canonical, and patriotic; besides the Latin academy of Madrid, &c. But the follow-

ing are the only establishments of this kind, which are more particularly deserving of notice.

1. *The Academy of Language,* founded by Philip V. which has constantly been regarded by the French academy as a sister institution. The dictionary which it has published, has, ever since its first edition, been accounted, even by the confession of the most skilful grammarians, the most finished performance of the kind, which has appeared in any language. The Abbé Marillo, librarian to this academy, has been commissioned to make an abridgment of this dictionary, in one volume, which will suffice for ordinary use.

This academy consists of only twenty four ordinary members, but the number of supernumerary ones is not limited. For several years it had for its president a Spanish grandee, the Marquis de Santa Cruz, governor of the Prince of Asturias; in which instance, it was not an empty compliment paid merely to his rank and birth. After his death his place was filled by his brother, Don Pedro de Silva, a man of still superior talents, who is honored with the title of perpetual director.

II. *The Academy of History,* founded and endowed by Philip V. in 1738, had for its first president Don Augustin Montiano, a man of eminence in literature, although little known out of Spain. Towards the conclusion of the eighteenth century, the president of this academy was the

Count de Campomanes, a man respectable not only for his erudition and patriotism, but likewise for the rank he occupied in the courts of judicature, in which he went through all the intermediate degrees from the profession of a common pleader to the high dignity of governor of the council of Castile. He was always one of the most indefatigable members of this academy, even when his official avocations afforded but few moments of leisure. Full of years and of claims upon the public esteem, he resigned all those official situations, which required laborious attendance, and withdrew to the council of state, where he enjoyed a respect that was due to his merit, until he terminated in 1802, a life which had been dedicated to purposes of public utility. His contemporaries have been instructed by his literary productions on the education of the people, on national industry, on many subjects of history and of political economy. His heirs have certainly found amongst his papers several valuable documents relative to the state of Spain, during the government of the Moors; having been employed during a considerable part of his life, in collecting materials on that subject, which if published, may serve to throw much light upon one of the most obscure and important subjects of modern history.

At all times the Spaniards have paid great attention to the history of their country. There

is not a single town of any note, which has not its particular history or chronicle. Of late years, they have been engaged in reprinting their best historians. About twenty years ago, they published, for the first time, several works of Sepulveda, amongst others, one which is entitled, *De rebus gestis Caroli Quinti.* It is almost thirty years since they began to publish all the ancient chronicles relative to Castile, many of which had never appeared before. They are all enriched with notes, which demonstrate the sound criticism and erudition of their authors, the chief of whom are *Don Francisco Cerda, Don Miguel Florez, Don Eugenio de Llaguno,* and some other members of the academy of history. This academy contains in its apartments a valuable collection of all patents, charters, and other documents relating to the towns, communities, churches, chapters, &c. throughout Spain; the whole arranged with great care in chronological order, and consequently well adapted to furnish the most copious fund of authentic materials in all the departments of Spanish history. From these immense archives, the members of the academy of history have procured the materials for a *Geographical Dictionary of Spain,* which is of a modern date, and has gone through several editions. It has been augmented with several additions, the last volume of which appeared in the month of June, 1796.

Other individuals have undertaken the task of publishing the catalogue of the Greek manuscripts in the library of Madrid. This undertaking, which is conducted by the librarians, was begun by Don Juan Iriarte, an amiable and ingenious scholar, who died, leaving three nephews behind him, to confer a more durable reputation upon his name, in the different paths of literature which they followed. One of them, Don Thomas, died a few years since, crowned with literary laurels; another, Don Domingo, after having ratified the peace of Basle, and having been subsequently nominated ambassador to France, was suddenly snatched from his country, and from a circle of friends he had acquired amongst our countrymen. Don Bernardo, the eldest of the three, is still living, and dedicates his time partly to the arts to which he is attached, and partly to the duties of administration.

Father Florez, a monk, began an ecclesiastical history, which, under his auspices, was, in fact, nothing better than an undigested compilation; but it has assumed a more elegant form, since it has been committed to the management of father Risco, who has continued this history.

Several other writers, conversant in the affairs of their country, have endeavoured to explore the labyrinth of history, and to communicate information to their countrymen, upon economi-

cal and political subjects. They have incorporated with their language, those productions of England, France and Italy, which were tolerated by Spanish orthodoxy; not only works relating to the arts and to mechanics, but also such as treat on general subjects of literature and philosophy. It is now more than twenty years since they began to translate the writings of Linnæus and of Buffon. At present, their literati are more zealously occupied than ever, with translations, but they are not always happy in their choice or arrangement. They frequently couple the most insipid French novel with Clarissa Harlowe, and associate translations of our most ignorant church disciplinarians with the essays of Maupertuis on moral philosophy, with the works of Bernardin de Saint Pierre, or with those of Condillac.

Of late, certain persons have even attempted to make the Spanish literati acquainted with the philosophical history of Raynal, a work which incensed the Spanish government to such a degree, that I have often seen Galvez, minister of the Indies, burst into a violent passion at the mere mention of the author's name, regarding those who had endeavoured to introduce some surreptitious copies into the Spanish colonies in the light of criminals guilty of high treason against God and man. The Duke de Almodo-

xar * one of the small number of Spanish grandees who cultivate polite literature, has given an extract rather than a translation of this work, taking care to omit all those passages of the philosophical history which contain invectives against despotism and superstition, and has rectified several errors relative to the Spanish colonies, into which Raynal had fallen.

Some time before an attempt was made to translate the French *Dictionnaire Encyclopedique*, by subscription; and it was no small matter of astonishment to behold the grand inquisitor himself at the head of the subscribers. Towards the end of my first residence in Spain, a pretty numerous list had been already collected, for the *Nouvelle Encyclopedie par ordre de matières*, when unfortunately, one of our writers, to whose management the article in the geographical section, treating of Spain, had been committed, advanced in the most unreserved manner, many heavy accusations against a country, which, on account of her political relations with France, ought to have been treated with deference and delicacy. The Spanish government conceived itself authorized to require satisfaction. The

* He had been minister of Spain in Russia during the reign of Peter III., was subsequently ambassador in Portugal, and last of all, in England, until the period when Spain took an active share in the American war. He died a few years ago.

expostulation was favourably received by the French court, and the author, the censor, and printer, were severely reprimanded. In Spain the sale of the *Nouvelle Encyclopedie* was suspended. Shortly afterwards, however, the government revoked this decree, but in order to expunge all errors and invectives which might hereafter creep into the French work, it directed, that in future, every number, before it was delivered to the subscribers, should be revised and examined by the Council of Castile. The council actually nominated a committee to which the examination was delegated, whose dilatory proceedings retarded the sale of the work. The committee themselves neither possessed inclination or leisure, nor sufficient knowledge to execute their task. More than three hundred subscribers were obliged anxiously to await their decision. But matters grew much worse, when the holy office, influenced by a spirit of intrigue rather than religious zeal, added new obstacles to the circulation of the numbers; in the first instance, by prohibiting the agent whom Panckoucke had sent to Madrid, from receiving any more subscriptions; then by extorting a promise from him not to deliver any more copies, and last of all, by a violent seizure of all the numbers in his possession. The ruin of the agent, and a great loss to Panckoucke, were the consequence of these violent measures. The storms of the re-

volution, and the subsequent war, prevented the injured parties from obtaining redress.

Throughout this whole transaction, the Spanish government was to blame in many respects. Ought it to have interfered in a quarrel which belonged exclusively to the department of literature, or ought it to have been incensed at the accusations of ignorance? Do the reputation or honour of a nation depend upon the loose assertions of an obscure writer? To make a parade of authority in such cases, is not to refute but to confirm obloquy, at least to give it more publicity. Spain ought to have delegated to her own professional literati the task of demonstrating that she was not so entirely destitute of scientific knowledge, or of claims upon the esteem and gratitude of Europe as had been asserted by Masson de Morvillers. This is the only vengeance that a great nation should take. The French and English have long since furnished an example of this kind. They have not only been accustomed in times of peace to treat each other with unexampled severity, but foreign nations have frequently overwhelmed them with bitter sarcasms and invectives. Their governments have never dreamt of contemplating such national wrongs in the light of political concerns. A magnanimous pride, a consciousness of intrinsic excellence, will suffice to render a nation invulnerable to such petty attacks; and the genius of the Spaniards is so happily constituted, that they

may with safety oppose this shield to the malignity of their adversaries. It was not requisite that the court should stimulate them to undertake their justification. The Abbé Cavanilles, who had resided some years at Paris,* of his own accord, undertook to vindicate his country against this imprudent writer in the *Encyclopedie;* but his countrymen themselves are of opinion, that his intemperate zeal hurried him beyond the precise limits of his design. He was more lavish in panegyric than the French author in malignant aspersions. The one denied every shadow of merit, the other dealt out with an unsparing hand every species of excellence; insomuch that, in order to support his assertions, he was obliged to quote a long catalogue of authors, of scholars, and artists, who were for the most part unknown, even to the Spaniards themselves.

A more recent and anonymous apologist entered upon the vindication of his country, with not less warmth, but, however, in a more plausible way, and sent me his manuscript.

In this performance, he takes a survey of all the various departments of science and literature, and demonstrates that the Spaniards are not unacquainted with any one of them; he particularly extols their proficiency in the military art. "Are not the works," says he, "of the Marquis de Santa Cruz, translated into all languages? Are

* The same who has since acquired a reputation by some very valuable botanical works.

not the French themselves accustomed to quote the dissertations of Louis Collado, and of Christopher Lechuga, on artillery?"

But what more particularly provokes the spleen of our anonymous author, is this passage of Masson de Morvillers: "For what has Europe been indebted to Spain for these two centuries, nay, for these two thousand years?" The following is the substance of his answer to this *impertinent question*: "This ignorant Frenchman," says he, "has probably forgotten; nay, perhaps never knew, that Ferdinand the Catholic, expelled the Saracens from Granada, whilst Isabella patronized the discovery of the new world; that Charles V. triumphed at Pavia, whilst Magellan passed those streights to which he gave his name, and explored the coasts, the rivers, the harbours of South America; that Cano was the first who circumnavigated the globe and defined its extent and figure; that Cortez, in Mexico, that Pizarro, in Peru, fought, conquered, and secured the possession of the valuable productions of the two Americas to the remainder of Europe; that the Spaniards introduced into this new hemisphere domestic animals, the use of iron, and all those branches of industry, whence so many advantages accrue to the present possessors of the colonies; that they analyzed the productions of the country, and established the cultivation of sugar, from which France and England have derived such

a great accession to their commerce; moreover, that they improved, and augmented the growth of cocoa, of indigo, of cochineal, tobacco, and cotton; and lastly, that they discovered the virtues of peruvian bark, of balsams, of sarsaparilla, and of many other medical plants.

"About the middle of the sixteenth century, whilst some of their countrymen, under the conduct of Don John of Austria, and Bazan, triumphed at Lepanto, others advanced as far as the Philippines; another division of Spaniards coasted along the country of California, ascertained its peninsular figure, and discoverd New Mexico; whilst others again traversed the vast extent of South America.

"They instructed millions of Americans in their religion, their manners, and their language, transformed them into husbandmen, mechanics, and soldiers, made them by patriotism fellow-citizens of the mother country; whilst other nations taught those Indians with whom they came in contact the destructive use of fire-arms, and intoxicating liquors, cultivating no other commerce with the natives, than a paltry traffic in furs, and making them adepts, both by precept and example, in the practice of deceit.

"Let us compare with the condition of these Spanish colonies, the subject of so much idle declamation, the deplorable aspect of Cayenne; let us comtemplate the misery to which Louisiana

was reduced, notwithstanding the boasted magnanimity of the French, at the period when it was ceded to Spain. Shall the English be adduced as proper standards of imitation? When they usurped our settlements on the coasts of Campeachy and Honduras, did they civilize their inhabitants? Have they done any thing towards promoting their happiness? No; they have suffered them to continue in a state of disunion and rude barbarism, and have uniformly exercised before their eyes the infamous arts of smuggling and piracy. Admitting that the colony of Surinam, under Dutch government, has attained to a certain degree of prosperity, what shall we say concerning the remainder of Dutch Guiana?

"And yet these nations are reputed the most industrious, the most powerful, the most commercial states in Europe. Such, however, is the result of what they have done towards promoting the welfare of the two worlds!

"If they censure the Spaniards for having usurped part of America, or for having committed wanton acts of cruelty there, let this be their answer:—

"Have these English, French, or Dutch, a superior right to the colonies which they subjugated? What are become of the Caribbees of their Antilles? Have they displayed more humanity than the Spaniards? Did they not seek to derive every advantage from the successful de-

predations of the savage Buccaneers? What infamous arts of oppression did they not exercise in India, in order to monopolize the commerce, the industry, and even the personal liberties of the unfortunate natives? It was not a gang of adventurers, discountenanced by their native country, who committed this devastation; they were supported by the politics of the most powerful cabinets in the midst of the most enlightened age, in countries of a Milton and of a Newton, of a Montesquieu, and of a d'Alembert."

In this manner did our anonymous author reply to the accusations of Masson de Morvillers, and of that numerous tribe of declaimers, of whose sentiments he was the interpreter. Generally speaking, these recriminations only serve to demonstrate that no modern nation has any just ground or colour to censure others, on account of the abuse of supreme power, or on the score of a perfidious policy, but they supply no decisive arguments in favour of Spain, with respect to her advancement in civilization, in science or literature. This part of the apology devolved upon the Abbé Cavanilles. It is, however, a question whether he has accomplished his purpose.

In our days, two other Spaniards have gone over the same ground again, in such a prolix manner as would seem scarcely compatible with the subject. Lampillas has filled six volumes with a

catalogue of the treasures of modern Spanish literature; and Don Juan Sempere published some years ago a work, in six volumes octavo, entitled, "Essay towards a Spanish collection of the best writers in the reign of Charles III." To judge from the titles of these two books, might we not suppose that the Spanish nation is the most prolific in great writers, the most learned and enlightened in Europe? Truth, as on every other occasion, is also, in the present instance, to be found in a just medium between the extravagant accusations of the French impeacher, and the vain-glorious ostentation of the Spanish vindicators. Unquestionably there exist in Spain a much greater number than is generally supposed of learned men, who cultivate in silence the abstruse sciences; of scholars, who are profoundly conversant in the history and jurisprudence of their country; of eminent literary characters, and of poets, glowing with the fire of genius, and gifted with a brilliant and prolific imagination. But, even by the confession of unprejudiced Spaniards themselves, the present state of science and literature can by no means sustain a comparison with that of the age of *Mendoza*, of *Ambrose Morales, Herrera, Saavedra, Quevedo, Garcilaso, Calderon, Lopez de Vega, Villegas, Cervantes, Mariana, Sepulveda, Solis*, &c. The universities of Spain do not enjoy the same reputation as formerly. The

industry and population of the country are far from what they were under Ferdinand the Catholic and his two successors. The three last monarchs have endeavoured to revive that illustrious æra; but frequent wars, a derangement in the finances, and other still more powerful causes, have obstructed their endeavours, and retarded the progress of science. Intellectual refinement is, however, far more universally diffused than it was about fifty years ago. The reign of Charles III. can boast of eminent characters in the various departments of science end literature; such as father Feijoo, known by his *Theatro Critico*, in which he began to make his countrymen more familiarly acquainted with the just ideas, and even with the daring flights of modern philosophy.

Father *Sarmiento*, author of some good critical performances.

Don Jorge Juan, a skilful mathematician, chiefly conversant in the art of ship-building.

Don Juan Iriarte, known by several literary publications, highly creditable to his learning, and even to his taste. All the four abovementioned, died about twenty-five years ago.

Among those scholars whom Spain has recently lost, the most conspicuous are:

Father Isla, a Jesuit, author of several works replete with wit and philosophy, particularly the *Fray Gerundio*, in which performance he has ri-

diculed bad preachers in the same facetious manner in which Cervantes has lashed the follies of knight-errants.

Don Francisco Perez Bayer, preceptor of the Infant Don Gabriel, who has enriched Spanish literature with several works full of erudition. Several poets, who, if they did not possess the fancy and fecundity of their predecessors, have, however, exhibited specimens of a refined taste, from which the latter have in many instances deviated; such, for example, are *Cadahalso*, *Lahuerta*, *Don Thomas Iriarte*, known even beyond the confines of his country, by a poem on Music, by some pretty fables* and comedies.

Among living authors, or those lately deceased, we may distinguish the *Count de Campomanes*, a learned historian and lawyer, and one of the first Spaniards who directed the attention of their countrymen towards the means of promoting national industry.

Cardinal Lorenzana, archbishop of Toledo, a prelate equally eminent for his knowledge and for his benevolence.†

* Some of his fables have been imitated by M. de Florian. In 1804, they were all translated by M. l'Homandie; but it must be allowed, that in French they have not had the same success as in the original Spanish. The French journalists, especially the *Decade*, treated both the translation and original with some degree of asperity.

† Towards the conclusion of the reign of Pius VI. he was

The *Chevalier Azara,* whose name is respected by all those whom their affection for the fine arts conducted to Rome; the elegant editor of the works of *Mengs,* whose friendship he enjoyed; besides which, he published an excellent translation, in four volumes, of Cicero's life, by Middleton, which he illustrated with a preface, and several engravings, selected from his own cabinet of antiques. *

Don Joseph Guevara, Don —— Murillo, Don Francisco Cerda, and many other learned men,

sent to that pontiff, as if to console him under his misfortunes by this striking proof of the sympathy of the first catholic monarch. Cardinal Lorenzana remained with his holiness until he was removed to France. Afterwards he continued to reside in Italy; a circumstance which demonstrates that the unexpected mission which obliged him to quit his diocese, was not solely occasioned by a zeal to administer consolation to the sovereign pontiff. The archbishopric of Toledo has been since transferred to the son of the late Infant Don Louis, who has the title of Count of Chinchon. Cardinal Lorenzana died in 1803.

* He died at Paris in 1804. He resided there some years as ambassador of Spain; but his embassy was interrupted by many feuds. The austere frankness of his character involved him in many disagreeable circumstances. He died soon after the last disgrace which he experienced. In the Moniteur of 1804, is inserted an historical account of his life, in which there are some interesting details concerning his character, his knowledge, his taste for the arts, and the uniform patronage which he conferred on those by whom they are cultivated.

who deserve to be much better known than they actually are.

Don Eugenio Izquierdo, a natural philosopher, whose worth our literati have had opportunities to appreciate, and who is at present director of the cabinet of natural history.

Don Casimir Ortega, a botanist, and member of the Royal Society of London.

*Don Antonio Joseph Cavanilles,** another botanist, who enjoys a greater reputation abroad than the preceding, having published, in 1791, the first volume, and in 1794, the third of a very valuable work, entitled, *Icones et descriptiones plantarum, quæ aut sponte in Hispania crescunt, aut in hortis hospitantur,* in which one hundred and thirty-six plants of the botanical garden are described and engraved, besides one hundred and fifty-six from the kingdom of Valencia, and a great number that are found in the environs of Madrid.

Ruiz and *Pabon,* two other botanists, whom we have noticed above.

Don —— Villalba, who has lately attracted public attention by his *History of the Epidemic Distempers of Spain.*

Lastly, the Spaniards possess at present some poets in the department of comedy and tragedy, whom we shall notice in the section on the theatre; and likewise some authors of fugitive poems.

* He died in June 1804, much lamented by all amateurs of natural history.

There are also some Spaniards who have removed to France, in order to augment the sphere of their knowledge in science and art, and they have done honour to us by their scientific acquisitions. In 1804, two young pupils of our most skilful chemists, *Messrs. San-Christoval* and *Garriga y Buach*, published at Paris, in the Spanish language, a work entitled, *Curso de Quimica general, applicada à las Artes*, which at least demonstrates that the Spaniards know how to derive advantage from their travels.

In like manner, Don Benito Pardo, a Spanish general, after a residence of some years at Paris, published in that capital a book in his native language, in two sections; the first of which contains *an Analytical Examination of the picture of the Transfiguration*, the other comprizes *Observations on the Painting of the Greeks*.

Generally speaking, literature has for some time past, been more assiduously cultivated by the Spaniards than is commonly supposed. Although their exertions are still cramped by the shackles in which they are confined, they are, however, not destitute of the means requisite to obtain information, concerning every thing of interest that occurs either abroad or at home. In the first years of the French revolution, nay even during the war, they always read the French journals with great avidity, and found means to

procure them in spite of all prohibitions. They also possess some periodical works of their own.

Besides the Court Gazette, which appears twice a week, and gives a very brief account of all new works, they have a *Mercurio historico y politico*, which has, for a considerable time, made its appearance every month, and gives a well digested summary of all the political transactions in Europe. This work was long edited by Clavejo, who is well known by the memoirs of Beaumarchais, and is entitled to reputation in other respects. This task has since devolved upon M. de Peñalver, and the journal has sustained no detriment by the change.

The Spaniards have likewise another periodical publication, entirely literary, which, since 1784, has made its appearance with scarcely any interruption, every month, under the title of *Memorial Literario*. *Don Joaquin Ezquerra* was for some time author of this publication, but the present conductor is M. Olaves, who gives an interesting account of all new works, and subjoins fragments of morality, of literature, of political economy, and even of philosophy.

For some years past, there has been a periodical work, under the title of *Espiritu de los mejores diarios de Europa*, which, in 1798, was supplanted by the *Anales de literatura, ciencias y artes*, or *Miscellanea instructiva y curiosa*,

which contains extracts from the best foreign journals, and many original pieces on statistics and geography.

We may likewise place in the same class, a journal upon the plan of the English Spectator, which formerly appeared every month, since April 1795, under the title of *Seminario erudito y curioso de Salamanca*; but which was not long since suppressed.

Were we to descend to minute particulars, we might mention the *Reganon*, or *Snarler*, a new journal, which, however, has not hitherto been very popular; the *Corres mercantil de España y de sus Indias*, which, since 1792, has appeared every week; besides many other periodical papers, published in different provinces or chief towns, but which, out of Spain, are of little interest.

Foreigners are likewise unacquainted with the useful and finished performances which the Spaniards possess on every subject relating to their native country. We shall just mention the principal of them.

The most skilful grammarians of other countries have already for some time appreciated the intrinsic excellence of their dictionary of the Castilian tongue. The Spaniards also possess a good *Grammatica castellana*, the fourth edition of which was about eight years since published by the academy. They reprint their best national

works; such, for example, are the *Bibliotheca vetus hispanica*, and the *Bibliotheca nova hispanica*, by Nicolas Antoine, two works which have long held a high rank in the estimation of scholars.

They possess a *Geographical Dictionary* of Spain, by Monpalau, which has gone through four editions, and in point of accuracy, is almost faultless.

They have lately finished their *Maritime Atlas of Spain*, which comes nearer to perfection than any of the maps of the interior of Spain. That published in 1792, by Don Thomas Lopez, contains several vacancies, and many inaccuracies, which I have remarked during my long tour in Spain since its publication. Natives, well informed upon this subject, have however assured me, that the principality of the *Asturias* was delineated upon this chart with remarkable accuracy.

Of late, the Spaniards have been very assiduous in cultivating the study of their native country, in all its various bearings and relations. In 1784, an *Historia critica de España*, began to appear; the author, J. Fr. Masdeu, although a Catalonian by birth, wrote in Italian; but his work has been translated into Spanish. It goes back to the earliest ages, is full of learned and curious researches, and displays much erudition and sound criticism.

The same encomium is applicable in a still higher degree to the brothers *Mohedano*, two monks of superior genius and knowledge, but somewhat led astray by their patriotic enthusiasm. Their work, entitled, *Historia Litteraria de España*, was begun in 1779. It was already extended to nine quarto volumes, and excited the greatest expectations, when unfortunately it happened in 1786 to incur the displeasure of the inquisition, and was discontinued.

A work inferior in point of composition, being very prolix, but more useful, is the production of *Don Eugenio Laruza*, who has already published about twenty volumes, entitled, *Memorias politicas y economicas sobre la industria, las minas, etc. de España*. This work contains the most circumstantial details concerning the natural productions, and manufactures of every kind, in the different provinces of Spain. It demonstrates at least that the Spaniards are acquainted with their natural and artificial treasures, and that they are intent upon the means of multiplying these resources.

The major part of the patriotic societies, also publish interesting memoirs on the same subjects.

The taste for the arts and sciences has extended from the metropolis to the provinces. At Seville, and at Barcelona, there exists an academy of belles-lettres; at Saragossa and Valencia there

is an academy of the fine arts; at Valladolid, one of geography and history; at Granada, one of mathematics and drawing, &c.

A more modern establishment exhibits an additional proof of the zeal of government in patronizing useful knowledge, and of the alacrity of the Spanish nation to second its laudable efforts. This is a corps of cosmographical engineers formed in 1796. The director is Don Ximenes Salvador, a man of ability, and conversant in every particular relating to geography, astronomical, terrestrial, and maritime. This corps has already entered upon the discharge of its duties with much success, by publishing some charts of the coast, as well as maps of the interior of Spain, delineated from recent observations.

CHAPTER XI.

Present State of Spanish Literature. Education. Manufactures. Roads. Canals. Patriotic Societies.

The foregoing chapter contains an estimate of the chief literary merits of modern Spain. It may perhaps serve to exonerate the Spaniards from the charge of sloth and ignorance.

We must, however, be careful not to exceed the limits of veracity. In many particulars their literature is still very defective.

They possess some works relating to the progress of the arts; such as the art of dyeing, the veterinary art;* several on Spanish jurisprudence; an elementary Treatise on Mathematics, by Joseph Radon; a summary History of Arragon, till its incorporation with Castile; a chro-

* One in particular by Sigismundo Malats, who resided some time in France, where he extended his knowledge in this art, at the school of Alfort, the best institution of its kind. On his return to Spain, he published his *Elementos del Arte Veterinaria*. He is at present chief director of the school established at Madrid in 1791.

nological History of the Spanish Nobility; Literary Information concerning Spain, by Mendel; numerous versions from the Latin, from the Greek,* from the French, and English; some novels, in which class, three published by father Montengon, a jesuit, who has withdrawn to Italy since the suppression of his order, claim the precedence: *El Antenor,* or *de la crianza de un Principe* (on the education of a prince); *La Eudoxia,* or the education of a lady; but, in particular, *El Eusebio,* a work in four volumes, chiefly formed upon the model of the Emilius of Jean Jacques Rousseau.

But in the department of true philosophy, they do not possess any one valuable production; on the contrary, they have a prodigious catalogue of books of devotion, both original and translated. This is an abstract of the modern productions of Spanish literature.

But let us be candid enough to acknowledge, that mighty obstacles prevent this dawn of the arts and sciences in Spain, from being followed by the refulgent blaze of broad daylight; which seemed to be approaching since the commencement of the last century.

1. Those who cultivate the arts and sciences,

* Among the translations from the Greek, we must notice those of Anacreon, of Theocritus, and Bion, by Condé.

do not enjoy that portion of public estimation, which serves to exalt and encourage genius.

2. They find themselves still encumbered with the formidable shackles of fanaticism and her agents, whose persecution is doubtless not so virulent as it was in former ages, but whose presence and number would alone suffice, to prolong this species of religious terror, even when their active functions are suspended.

3. Education is still by far too much neglected, or what is worse, it has a direct tendency to instil erroneous principles and prejudices, and to smother those generous dispositions of nature with which the Spaniards, perhaps more than any other nation, are liberally endowed. Will it be believed, that the expulsion of the Jesuits only served to deteriorate this essential branch of the administration? At that period, the dangers of committing the care of youth to religious corporations were, if possible, exaggerated. The Piarists, known in Spain by the appellation of *Escolapios*, were the only fraternity permitted to retain the management of some schools; and these were by no means the worst conducted. In every other instance the functions of the Jesuits were delegated to the professors, who were promiscuously laymen or ecclesiastics, but who were not embodied into a corporation, and did not live under one roof. The Jesuits, besides the possessions belonging to their society,

had also particular endowments for different professorships. This is the only fund which has been appointed for the maintenance of new professors. It would suffice for a corporation of monks living together in a community, but it is an inadequate provision for the new order of things. Professorships so badly endowed will only be sought after by men of inferior abilities. Hence the education of youth must sustain a material injury; and this is an inconvenience for which government cannot too soon provide a remedy.

Some feeble attempts have however been made towards introducing a partial reformation into some few of these seminaries of education. There have long been in Spain seven principal colleges (*Colegios mayores*), in which young men of the first distinction in the monarchy, have been and still continue to be educated. These were nurseries for those persons who subsequently occupied places under government. This prerogative, together with many others, produced a vast number of abuses, administered food to idleness and arrogance; and discouraged seminaries of education, which were the rendezvous of the poorer classes of pleaders and lawyers. These last, however, obtained the ascendancy in their turn, in the reign of Charles III.; they obtained the most lucrative appointments under government, and subsequently employed their influence to obviate the glaring defects of

the great colleges. At their instigation, government made a reform in the whole establishment of these colleges, from which the most beneficial result was expected; but it has not hitherto taken place.

The administration is, however, sedulously, and not unsuccessfully, employed with military education. Charles III. himself founded four institutions of this kind; a school of artillery at Segovia, one of engineers at Carthagena, one of cavalry at Ocaña, and another of tactics at Avila, whence it was subsequently transferred to Port St. Mary. At first all four prospered, to the great advantage of the different corps to which they belonged. The two last fell to the ground, with the credit of their founders, the generals, Ricardos and Oreilly, who died a few years since, the one while fighting, and the other on the eve of taking a command against the French. The two other seminaries at Segovia and Carthagena are still in existence, and continue to produce persons eminent in the science of artillery, and in ship-building.

From all that we have said on this subject, it will be seen that scientific knowledge, and the means of acquiring it, are by no means so rare in Spain as is generally supposed; moreover, that literature, the sciences, and the fine arts, are far from being neglected in that country,

but that they are encumbered with many shackles, and require more encouragement.

With regard to national industry, the administration has been assiduously employed, with tolerable success, ever since the commencement of last century, in reviving those manufactures which the Austrian dynasty left in the most deplorable condition. With his customary vivacity, Philip V. embraced this idea; but he did not carry it into execution. Ferdinand VI. found in the Marquis de la Ensenada a minister who, possessing great influence, advanced towards the accomplishment of his undertaking with energy and perseverance; who collected a number of able assistants, from whose character and talents he derived advantage.

Among other useful regulations, he established manufactures of all kinds in Spain; laid additional duties upon the exportation of raw materials; severely prohibiting, in particular, that of silk, and giving encouragement to expatriated artizans. From his administration Valencia and Saragossa date the revival of their industry.

In the two following reigns, some of these manufactures have been brought to a still higher perfection. We have already seen how much Charles III. improved those established at Segovia and Guadalaxara. There are flourishing manufactures of coarse linens at *Escary*, in Bis-

cay; at *Bocairente*, at *Onteniente*, at *Alcoy*, &c., in the kingdom of Valencia; and at *Grazalema*, in Andalusia. There are many others, which we shall notice in the course of this work.

The silk manufactures (as we shall see in another place), have been one of the principal objects of the vigilance of administration, which has been attended with a beneficial result.

The manufactures of lace have of late arrived at such perfection, that there is scarcely any distinction observable between the laces of France and Spain. There are manufactures of hats at Madrid, at Badajoz, and Seville; and for some years past, those of foreign countries have sensibly felt their rivalship.

To the present dynasty Spain is likewise indebted for the few roads and canals she possesses. We have already noticed the activity of government with respect to the roads. The system of canals is yet merely in embryo. There is one in the vicinity of Madrid which is intended to join the Mançanares with the Tagus, and thus facilitate the communication between the capital and the palace of Aranjuez. Two or three leagues have been completed, and there they have left it. The canal of Castile, begun long since, has been almost entirely abandoned. In treating of Saragossa, we shall notice the state of the canal of Arragon. The canal which had been projected in the kingdom of Murcia, according to an

incorrect survey, which was subsequently rectified, has been ultimately found impracticable, after the pompous advertisements soliciting contributions to defray the expences, which were also collected. The proprietors of shares, instead of the profits they were taught to expect, must rest satisfied with a moderate interest, which the King of Spain has engaged to pay them.

In 1784, the administration projected a much more brilliant and beneficial undertaking than that which it had been compelled to relinquish; this was no other than a canal, which, commencing at the foot of the mountains of Guadarama, was to communicate first with the Tagus, then with the Guadiana, and proceed to the Guadalquivir, below Andujar, which of course would have enlivened the whole interior of Spain. One Le Maur, a Frenchman, had projected the scheme, and was just going to put it into execution when he died. But the resolution had been formed, the plans had been drawn, and the funds secured. The enterprize was entrusted to the sons of Le Maur, who inherited the projects of their father, and also a share of his talents. It was soon after interrupted, owing to some obstacles relative to the course of the canal; the war subsequently interposed other difficulties. On the return of peace, they sought in vain to revive this project. It appears to have been entirely relinquished.

But what must more particularly conduce to the welfare of Spain, and yet has not hitherto been attended with the desired success, is the establishment of the *patriotic societies,* known under the title of *" Friends of the Country."*

The province of Biscay first set the example; it has been followed by the other provinces, and by the capital, where a patriotic society was instituted in 1775. About the end of 1788, there were forty-four of these societies, and sixty-three in 1804. Their title sufficiently expresses their object. The members are chiefly occupied with the advancement of the arts, agriculture, and manufactures of their respective provinces. They propose the discussion of questions relative to these subjects, and adjudge prizes to those who have handled them with the greatest ability. They rouse the activity of their fellow-citizens, rekindle their zeal, solicit the aid of their knowledge, afford encouragement to artizans, succour and counsel to the husbandman, and promote the circulation of patriotic enthusiasm throughout all ranks and classes of the people. There never did exist a more laudable institution, which, since its commencement, made a more rapid progress, or produced a greater sensation. Those who can never contemplate prosperity without a mixture of jealousy, those whose habitual supineness spurns at every happy revolution in human affairs, those whose selfish and morose disposition

feels itself injured by prosperous events in which they do not partake; all such, I say, have endeavoured to make these societies the butt of their ridicule. They pretend that the members talk very plausibly and perform very little; that they assume vast importance, and discuss with great gravity the most insignificant trifles. Unquestionably, they have not performed every thing that might have been done. The mediocrity of their funds has circumscribed their efforts; but the main design was to awaken their country from its lethargy, to stimulate the talents of artists, and the labours of husbandmen, to spur on their vanity by a prospect of fame, to urge self-interest by the hopes of profit; and this they have accomplished. Government has applied part of the surplus of a wise economy, between the peace of 1783 and the war of 1793, towards augmenting the fund of beneficence. At their commencement, these establishments had scarcely any other funds than voluntary contributions. Government has added to this sum the produce of the *spolios y vacantes*, which has a near resemblance to the fund which formerly existed in France, under the denomination of *Caisse des Economats*.

Charles III., in spite of his religious scruples, conceived himself warranted in appropriating part of the property of the church to the encouragement of these societies; during the vacan-

cies of episcopal sees, their revenues, for a stated period, revert to the monarch.

The patriotic societies have been the fountain-head of various encouragements to industry. Enlightened by their admonitions, the administration has revived several laws fallen into disuse. It has prohibited foreign commodities, the rivalship of which might prove detrimental to the national manufactures. It has procured a supply of artizans, who introduce the improved processes and operations. These measures have already been prejudicial, and will hereafter prove still more so, to other manufacturing and commercial nations. They may excite their fears and murmurs; they will doubtless redouble their activity and vigilance; but they cannot fail to be applauded by all good patriots in every country. France herself might even borrow these useful regulations from Spain. Her new organization would easily accommodate itself to this change. A patriotic society in every chief town of her departments, would serve to enliven that industry, of which there already exist, in some, many masterly specimens, and, in all, the germs of a future harvest. Such societies would find in France a soil well prepared and manured. In that country they would doubtless produce a more early and abundant crop. Let us prove to our allies, that if, on many occasions, we know how to cen-

sure their defects with asperity, we can also, at other times, imitate their excellencies.

The patriotic society of Madrid differs from the others only in the more immediate patronage of government, and in its local situation, which is more favourable for collecting subsidiary aids and information. It has perhaps a narrower sphere of objects for the display of its activity, because New Castile exhibits less variety in natural productions than the other provinces, and its industry is also more circumscribed. This society is, however, sedulously occupied with the amelioration of agriculture in the environs of Madrid, and with providing employment for children of both sexes, and for the poor in the metropolis.

A perfect equality is a law most inviolably maintained throughout all these societies. There no distinction of rank is known. The archbishop of Toledo, and the Duke de Medina Celi, will sometimes find themselves seated beside an humble artizan; and information is gratefully received, from what quarter soever it may be derived.

CHAPTER XII.

Council of Castile. Corregidor and the Alcaldes. Legislation. Influence of the Monks, more especially of the Royal Confessors. Authority of the Roman See circumscribed. Concordat of 1753. Opulence of the Clergy. Progress of Philosophy in reference to Priests.

As Madrid is the focus of the arts and sciences in Spain, it is also the central seat of government. Though the monarch resides there only a few weeks in the year, and his ministers are always near his person, this metropolis is, however, the seat of administration, and of all the supreme tribunals. Of these last we shall now take a survey, which will naturally lead us to treat of the laws, the religion, the finances, and the military establishment.

The Council of Castile holds the first rank among the tribunals and the councils of administration; for it acts in both capacities. As a supreme tribunal, it has the exclusive cognizance of certain causes; and, in some cases, receives appeals from other tribunals.

As a council, it superintends all those internal regulations which affect the public welfare.

It comprizes five chambers, or *Salas:*

1. The first *Sala de govierno* is solely occupied with the affairs of administration, and receives appeals made to the council in order to forward them to the second *Sala de govierno,* or to the court of justice.

2. The second *Sala de govierno* takes cognizance of such appeals as are transmitted by the first, and chiefly superintends all those concerns that relate to manufactures, bridges, and high-roads.

3. The *Sala de mil y quinientos,* or of the one thousand five hundred; is so called, because those who make their appeals here, from the decisions of the sovereign tribunals, are obliged to deposit one thousand five hundred ducats, which they forfeit if they are nonsuited.

4. The *Sala de justicia,* has the exclusive cognizance of certain causes, and in cases of importance, it acts in concert with the other chambers.

5. The *Sala de provincia* takes cognizance of appeals in all important cases and receives exceptions made against the decisions of the two civil lieutenants of Madrid, and of the *Alcaldes de corte,* in civil matters.

The last also constitute a sixth chamber, denominated the *Sala de los alcaldes de casa y corte,*

which bears a resemblance to what was called the *Tournelle,* in France.

Madrid is divided into a certain number of districts assigned to the police, which are severally superintended by an *Alcalde de corte.* This magistrate judges in the first instance conjointly with the civil lieutenants. Appeals are made from their respective decisions to their whole body assembled in court, which can only pronounce sentence in the last instance in cases submitted to its cognizance. It is only upon extraordinary occasions that such cases are referred to the Council of Castile.

The court of the *Alcaldes de casa y corte* was formerly the tribunal which constantly accompanied the court of Spain in all its peregrinations. Ever since this court has taken up its residence at Madrid, the tribunal is also established there, and it has a provincial jurisdiction over the environs of the residence of the sovereign; it has also a jurisdiction over a certain distance from the metropolis.

The Council of Castile is the only tribunal which is recognized by the grandees of Spain, and all its members enjoy the right of *committimus,* as did those of the French parliaments.

In reference to the administration of justice, Spain is divided into two chanceries; those of Granada and Valladolid, which have the exclusive cognizance of certain causes. Appeals from

their decisions to the Council of Castile are only made on two occasions; when the persons at issue chuse to run the risk of making application to that chamber of the Council, denominated the *mil y quinientos*, or in such cases when justice is denied them. Each chancery exclusively superintends the criminal causes of the *hidalgos* within its own circuit, and all those suits in which its own nobility are concerned.

Besides the two chanceries, there are eight audiences for the whole of Spain, exclusive of the particular tribunal of Navarre, which bears the title of *Royal Council*. The four audiences of the crown of Arragon, are those of Saragossa, Barcelona, Valencia, and Majorca; and those of the crown of Castile are established at Seville, at Corogna, at Oviedo, and in the Canaries.

Each of the audiences, and each of the chanceries, has a criminal hall (*Sala de crimen*), which pronounces criminal sentences in the last instance, and superintends their execution.

With the exception of a few restrictions, these tribunals, chanceries, and audiences, are equally absolute. The principal distinction between them is, that the former, as for example, the Council of Castile, try causes in the name of the King. In some instances, appeals can be made from the audiences at Corogna and Oviedo to the chancery at Valladolid, and from the audience at Seville to the chancery of Granada. But from

the four audiences of the crown of Arragon, appeals, in certain cases, are directly carried before the Council of Castile, where, according to the laws of Arragon, such suits must be determined.

Generally speaking, the boundaries of these several tribunals are not ascertained with sufficient precision, to obviate the inconvenience of frequent disputes about jurisdiction. As the Council of Castile omits no opportunity to augment its own jurisdiction, the chanceries and audiences are incessantly struggling against its encroachments, in support of their supreme authority. Unless in cases of appeal, which are rare exceptions to the general rule, there is no other resource against the decisions of all these sovereign tribunals, than that of a new trial, which in Spain is styled *supplica*. In such cases, appeals are made to the tribunal itself, from its own antecedent decisions, beseeching it to grant a new trial.

The heads of the chanceries are called presidents, those of audiences regents.

The head of the Council of Castile has the title of president, or governor; two dignities which differ in no material point, but are merely titular honours. The president of the Council of Castile must always be a grandee of Spain: when he appears in public, he has peculiar prerogatives,

After a long suspension, this high dignity was

again restored, in the person of the Count d'Aranda, in 1766, at one of those critical junctures, when men of superior minds become necessary for the welfare of the state. Being at the same time captain-general of all Castile, this association of the civil and military power invested him with a very extensive authority, which perhaps he used with too great vigor. He caused many discontents, and even gave umbrage to the sovereign. In 1773, he was obliged to resign his presidency, in order to assume the character of ambassador to France, which he sustained for sixteen years.

Notwithstanding what has been reported to the prejudice of M. d'Aranda during his administration of seven months, the talents which he displayed during that period will long be remembered in Spain. The metropolis, in particular, will not forget how much he contributed towards its improvement, its safety, and even its amusements. To his prudence and vigilance Spain is indebted for the expulsion of the Jesuits, which was planned with the greatest secrecy, and executed without disturbance. He made this kingdom acquainted with the real state of its population, which was before but very imperfectly known. Through his beneficent interference the dissipation and licentiousness of the monks were metamorphosed into manners more conformable to their vocation. The profanation of the

churches, where the most profligate villains frequently found an asylum, was reformed. The jurisdiction of the secular authority was vindicated against the usurpation of the Holy See. He retrenched those external ceremonies of religion (daily processions known by the appellation of *Rosarios*) which supine indolence frequently prefers to genuine devotion. In many instances he also curbed, as we shall see in another place, the exorbitant power of fanaticism. He would have carried his reformation still further, had he not been prevented by the unlucky interference of the confessor of Charles III., who in matters of conscience, counterbalanced the influence of the Count d'Aranda.

After his compulsive resignation of the presidency of the Council of Castile, the court, with a cautious policy, forbore to confer that high dignity, during a term of eighteen years. M. D'Aranda was succeeded by Figueroa, a prudent and dispassionate ecclesiastic, who had only the title of governor of the council. After his demise, the Count de Campomanes, being senior of the council, was invested with the functions of governor, but did not acquire the title until some years afterwards. However, on my return to Spain in 1792, I found the presidency of the Council of Castile in the possession of the Count de Cisuentes, a Spanish grandee. He died the same year, and down to the

present day he has had four successors, who all had only the title of governor. These were, the Count de la Cañada, an old magistrate, long known by the name of Acedo y Rico: then the Bishop of Salamanca, who at his death was succeeded by Don Joseph Eustache Moreno. This last, a worthy man, rose by a regular gradation to the highest dignity of the Spanish magistracy.

After him it was conferred on the Count de Montario, by whom it is now held. He is a well meaning man, upright and enlightened, who is deficient in no respect, except perhaps in a knowledge of foreign countries.

The *Camera*, or great chamber of the Council of Castile, consists of magistrates, appointed by the king in council, chiefly according to their seniority. This is properly the privy council of the monarch, and is moreover a supreme tribunal in certain cases, such as the succession of princes of the blood, and contested rights of cities *(Ciudades)*. Through this medium, likewise, the grants of royal favour are dispensed. This council proposes to his majesty, through the minister of mercy and justice, three persons for every vacant situation in the magistracy, and for every disposable benefice.

No office in the magistracy is to be obtained by purchase in Spain. This is most assuredly at first sight, a very laudable institution; but is it not, like every other human institution, ac-

companied with inconveniencies as well as with advantages? In Spain more especially, it leaves, on the one hand, a wider space open to the capricious partiality of the monarch and to the machinations of intrigue, whilst on the other it certainly proscribes incapacity and ignorance from the tribunals, and diminishes every temptation and pretence for making a sale of public justice. But ought not the integrity of magistrates destitute of property to be suspected? and are not their scanty pensions but a feeble fence against corruption? Nevertheless, in spite of the declamations of disaffected pleaders, I have not remarked, that unjust or partial judges were more frequent in Spain than elsewhere. The *Escrivanos*, however, a species of lawyers, who in some sort act in the double capacity of attorneys and notaries, appear to me richly to deserve their reputation for rapacity and ingenuity in the arts of chicane.

There exists a species of hierarchy in the Spanish magistracy, the several gradations of which are very punctually followed. All the members of the *Camera* are old counsellors of Castile: the latter never arrive at this station, without having been presidents of a chancery, or an audience, or at least ancient counsellors of one of these tribunals, or *alcaldes de corte*, who themselves are chosen out of the order of the pleaders, or of *corregidors*, or of *alcaldes mayores*. Out of Spain

very erroneous notions have been adopted, concerning the term *Alcalde*, which I shall endeavour to rectify.

In the first place, there are two classes of ordinary *Alcaldes*, who reside even in boroughs and villages. The *Alcalde ordinario*, judges in the first instance, where there is no *Corregidor*; but wherever there is one, the *Alcalde ordinario* takes cognizance only of civil causes, conjointly with him. Secondly, the *Alcalde pedaneo*, who is usually a person of the lowest class, has no other duties to perform than to take delinquents into custody, and to execute the orders of the *Corregidor*, or of the *Alcalde mayor*.

The election of the ordinary *Alcaldes* is different, according to the privileges of the several communities. They are generally elected every year by the corporations (*ayuntamientos*). In some places they are elected by lot; in others, they are nominated by the Council of Castile, by the tribunal of the province, or by the lord of the district, who selects one out of three persons proposed to him.

The *Alcaldes mayores* and *Corregidors*, are nominated by the King according to the recommendation of the *Camera*. A striking abuse prevailed among this class of magistrates, which was reformed by government about fifteen or twenty years ago. This office was conferred upon men in very low circumstances, who after

the expiration of three years, returned to their original state of inactivity, whence they could not be aroused except by fresh persuasions. Having just emerged from penury, and being on the point of relapsing into their former misery, might we not suppose that they would be tempted to make their fortune at the expence of the people over whom they possessed only a temporary authority? It was at length resolved, in order to furnish them with some motives of emulation, and to confirm their wavering integrity, that thenceforward they should hold their offices six years instead of three; moreover, that there should be three classes of *corregimientos*, which they were to pass through successively; and, after having ascended to the summit of this hierarchy, they were entitled to what are called in Spain the honours of the *togado*, that is, the titular honours attached to the rank of counsellors of superior tribunals. This plan was conceived by M. de Campomanes, and carried into execution by M. de Florida Blanca, when he became minister of mercy and justice. In this instance, the wisdom of the minister triumphed over his jealousy and rivalship. These two men, who were once colleagues, and once rivals, were never sincere friends.*

* During that period, when M. de Florida Blanca, then known by the appellation of Don Joseph Monino, was sent from Madrid to the court of Rome, upon the arduous mission relative to the suppression of the Jesuits, he was, together with

Besides the three classes specified above, there is also another denomination of *Corregidors*. I mean those of Madrid and Seville; two cities which have a magistracy of their own, of a peculiar description. Their corregidors are appointed for life, and must not be professional lawyers. They are simply overseers of the police, and, in this capacity, they superintend the city corporation, the bull-fights, and the public acts of the city. The *tenientes de villa* exercise a jurisdiction independent of their authority, but they occasionally act as their official substitutes. At Madrid and Seville there are likewise *regidores*, a species of sheriffs, who are also overseers of the police, coinjointly with the corregidor.

In every quarter of Madrid, there is an *Alcalde de barrio*, a sort of local commissary, who, acting under the controul of the *Alcalde de corte*, immediately superintends the maintenance of public order. Lastly, there is a magistrate, invested with the title of *Superintendente*, who is specially entrusted with the management of the police, conjointly with the *Alcaldes de corte*, the *Corregidor*, the *tenientes de villa*, and the *regidores*.

M. de Campomanes *fiscal*, that is, attorney general of the council of Castile. Charles III. hesitated some time in selecting one of these two colleagues, as they were both men of superior attainments. The notion he entertained of Monino's prepossessing address, which he justified in the sequel at Rome, turned the scale in his favour.

This post, which has a great resemblance to that of the former lieutenants of police at Paris, communicates to its possessor very extensive powers, by which means he not only becomes a formidable scourge to all disturbers of the public tranquillity, but also occasionally alarms by his preposterous and jealous vigilance, the peaceful habitations of honest citizens. Those who resided at Madrid towards the conclusion of the reign of Charles III., will recognize, on reading this observation, the character of *Cantero*, director of the police, who, for more than ten years, was more formidable to the unbefriended poor than to delinquents. Notwithstanding this complex organization of the magistracy at Madrid, which frequently occasions disputes about jurisdiction, we must, however, confess, that there are few capitals in Europe where the police is better regulated, where greater personal security prevails, or where criminals less frequently escape the arm of justice.

But, it will be asked, according to what code is justice administered at Madrid and in the provinces? We may affirm upon good authority, that the Roman laws are in a great measure invalidated. There exist even some ancient statutes, which prohibit them from being quoted as legal precedents, under severe penalties. However, in practical points, they are frequently consulted, and lawyers derive from the Roman laws,

precedents and information, without regarding them as absolutely infallible.

The method of framing the statement of a legal suit is executed in Spain according to the Roman jurisprudence, with some few variations only, in terms and in the application of documents. The referendaries are commonly professional lawyers, whose situations being lucrative, are in great request. In extraordinary cases, a member of the council is nominated to examine the procedure, and to make his report to the tribunal.

The only authentic laws of Spain are comprized in the codes promulgated by her ancient monarchs. Such, for example, are the *ley de las siete partidas*, the *fuero juzgo*, and the *fuero real*. The principal code and that most in use, is known under the appellation of *recopilacion*. It is a collection of various statutes of the Spanish monarchs, from the most remote ages to the present day. Of this a new edition is published from time to time, in which are inserted all the laws enacted since the appearance of the preceding.

It has been asserted that Charles III. designed to give Spain a new criminal code. This is a mistake; for the Council of Castile had simply proposed to the monarch, the revision and reformation of the old criminal laws, some of which were obsolete and absurd, and committed the execution of this plan to a committee of magistrates, of which M. de Campomanes was presi-

dent. This labour, which, I believe, is not yet concluded, occasioned at that time a treatise on the penal laws, the production of Lardizabal, a lawyer, which may be perused with pleasure and instruction, even after the treatise of Beccaria.

The name of this Italian philosopher serves to remind us of the tremendous punishment of the rack, which is not yet formally abolished in Spain; nay, it has even found several staunch advocates in that country. It is not more than twenty years ago, that one Castro, a priest, undertook a professed justification of the torture. His arguments were combated, and triumphantly refuted, to the great satisfaction of all enlightened Spaniards.

The canon law is adopted in Spain in all ecclesiastical suits. The court of Madrid is, however, by no means so completely subjugated by the Holy See as we might be led to imagine from the conspicuous figure still made in Spain by those numerous and disciplined legions of modern Rome, which, imitating the example of their ancestors, aim at universal dominion. Unquestionably religion and her ministers are held in high veneration. Priests, nay, even monks, procure admittance and ascendancy in many families of distinction, engage in secular intrigues, and frequently abuse the confidence reposed in them by bigotry. These radical abuses have been in a great measure redressed, even during the devout

reigns of the last monarchs, after having been countenanced by their example in the early part of the last century. The reader will recollect the dangerous ascendency acquired by father Daubenton and his spiritual successors over Philip V.; the influence obtained over Ferdinand VI. by father Rabago, who was the last Jesuit that discharged the functions of confessor to the Spanish monarchs. A Franciscan friar was long confessor to the late king; he was created bishop of Osma; and, at a later period, would gladly have condescended to accept the honours of the Roman purple. Though of an austere and sullen disposition, he was remarkably complaisant to his royal penitent; but he seldom interfered, whatever may be asserted to the contrary, in affairs foreign to his ministry. Notwithstanding the devotion of Charles III. he could not have made such an attempt with impunity; for that monarch, whilst he uniformly honoured him with his confidence and esteem, more than once repressed the intemperate sallies of his zeal. During the early part of my first residence in Spain, when the theatre of Saragossa was destroyed by lightning, the father confessor endeavoured to represent this accident to his majesty as a signal proof of the divine abhorrence of all profane spectacles, and even sought to persuade him to suppress them throughout the whole kingdom. By his repeated exhortations

on this subject, he so harrassed Charles III. that this prince, although not of an irascible temper, enjoined him to silence with a sternness which was nearly akin to anger. M. de Florida Blanca, who, during a long residence at Rome, had collected a more copious stock of philosophical than of religious notions, frequently combated the gloomy scruples of this ghostly monitor, on which account, he forfeited his esteem. The confessors of the present reign are not influenced by such blind fanaticism. The king's confessor is a Franciscan friar, who has been elevated to this confidential station through the interest of his fellow-citizen, the Prince of the Peace, and has, with all convenient speed, superadded an archbishopric to his dignity. The Queen's confessor has been longer in possession of his office. Both of them are said to possess genius and address. They are both upon a footing of intimacy with the royal pair; but their influence, like that of all others, is eclipsed and annihilated in the presence of the favourite, the source and channel of all the royal benefactions.

During the greatest part of the reign of Charles III. his confessor was very assiduously consulted respecting the disposal of ecclesiastical dignities, in the gift of his majesty, and he might have been regarded as minister for the affairs of the church. But M. de Florida Blanca, having obtained the appointment of minister of mercy and justice,

to which office the presentation belongs in such cases, put a period to the usurpations of the confessor.

This prerogative of nomination to the high church benefices in their dominions, has been exercised without opposition by the kings of Spain, only since the year 1753, the æra of the ratification of the concordat between the court of Madrid and Rome. Till then, the gift of benefices had been frequently the subject of altercation. They at length had recourse to an amicable negotiation, which, on the part of Spain, was entrusted to the management of the Abbé Figueroa, a man of mild and insinuating temper, whom I have since seen at the head of the Council of Castile. The result of these consultations was the concordat, by which the relations subsisting between Spain and the court of Rome, were established upon a permanent and irrevocable basis.

In this compact, the Holy See confirmed their catholic majesties in their ancient right of nominating to all consistorial benefices.

The principal difficulty related to the benefices of permanent residence and the simple benefices. The popes insisted upon their right to the gift of those which became vacant during the apostolical months. The concordat enumerated fifty-two nominations which should belong to the Holy See, under the restriction of conferring them only

upon Spaniards. It was moreover stipulated, that these benefices should be exempt from pensions, and that the dignitaries should not pay any *cedulas bancarias*. These *cedulas* were a species of contracts signed with the apostolic chamber, by which the candidate made himself responsible for the payment of a certain sum of money. Now it frequently happened that he could not command a sufficient sum to discharge his obligation. In that case, the Holy See advanced him the money at an enormous interest, and kept agents in Spain to enforce the performance of the obligation. This abuse, which it is a matter of astonishment to behold rearing aloft its hydra head in the middle of the eighteenth century; this abuse, I say, drained all the Spanish benefices of nearly one-fifth of their revenues, which was transferred to the exchequer at Rome.

But this is not the only abuse abolished by the concordat. Formerly the popes had the disposal of the property of defunct prelates, and of the revenues of vacant benefices. The administration of these funds was consigned to a board composed of Italians, who were so expert in the exercise of their calling, that one-fourth of the produce of these benefices was embezzled by their rapacious hands. The Holy See has resigned its claim upon this source of revenue, with the single proviso, that the administration of the *spolios y vacantes* should only be entrusted to an ecclesi-

astic, which does not, however, prevent the Spanish monarchs from disposing of them as they think proper. The administrator expends a considerable portion of these funds in loans to the new prelates, in order to enable them to support their dignity by a suitable establishment. To the honour of the high church dignitaries of Spain, it must be confessed that these loans have been regularly repaid.

Although the concordat stipulates that the produce of the *spolios y vacantes* shall be exclusively dedicated to religious purposes, the monarch appropriates part of them to the encouragement of industry, and even the remuneration of military services. But the chapters usually commissioned with the management of the effects of deceased prelates, or with the administration of the large vacant benefices, sometimes reduce the net produce of their temporary stewardship to one-fourth of its value. As the concordat deprived the Holy See of part of its revenues, the court of Madrid, by way of indemnification, entered into a contract to pay the latter, on the one hand, the sum of 600,000 Roman crowns; and on the other, 310,000, for which it was to pay interest at the rate of three per cent. By the same concordat, the Holy See also obtained this concession: that the bull of the crusade, of which we shall make mention under the head of imposts, should be perpetual. Independently of the con-

tributions paid by Spain to the Holy See, which were greatly diminished by the concordat, this court still enjoys the produce arising from marriage licences, which may be estimated at fifteen hundred thousand francs per annum.

Since that period, the court of Madrid has continued strenuously to vindicate the rights of sovereign authority against the usurpations of the Holy See. It will be recollected what a reception it gave to the remonstrance of Clement XIII. against the Infant of Parma. The Council of Castile immediately bought up all the copies of the remonstrance, and issued orders that the same measure should be observed respecting all letters, bulls, or briefs, which were derogatory to the royal prerogative, enforcing afresh the ancient statute of capital punishment, and confiscation of property, against all notaries or attorneys who should bring them into circulation.

On this occasion, the Council of Castile, of which Count d'Aranda was then president, again urged all that the kings of Spain, since the time of Charles V. had done to prevent the introduction of the bull, *in Coena Domini,* insisting that it was derogatory to the sovereign authority, and to the jurisdiction of the temporal tribunals, and enjoining all archbishops and bishops of the kingdom to suppress its publication and observance within their dioceses.

Against the encroachments of the court of Rome, Spain has likewise another resource in her so called "*Appeals as against abuses.*" In 1784, a Spanish publication on this subject made its appearance under the title of *Maximas sobre recursos de fuerza y proteccion.* The clergy, and the holy office in particular, the ancient constitutions of which the author had subjoined to his work, endeavoured to suppress the publication, but the Council of Castile and the ministry openly protected the author.

During the reign of Charles III. the privileges of nuncios in Spain were also circumscribed. In opposition to various statutes of former kings, the nuncios frequently abused the devout submission of the Spaniards, in order to enlarge their own powers.

Under the reigning dynasty, they had made such attempts, which, however, did not succeed.

At length, in 1771, the court of Madrid obtained a brief from Pope Clement XIV. which reformed the department of nuncios, substituting instead of the auditor of the nuncio, the sole umpire of this tribunal, a *rota,* constituted according to that of Rome, consisting of six ecclesiastics, nominated indeed by the sovereign pontiff, but proposed by the king of Spain.

With regard to the independence of the regal prerogative, we must likewise notice, that Spain

long since adopted maxims, in many respects similar to the four famous articles sanctioned by the assembly of the French clergy in 1682, to which all subjects, upon their instalment in a public office, are obliged to take the oath of obedience.

A great abuse, however, still prevails in Spain, which originates from wrong conceptions of religion: I mean, the exorbitant wealth of the clergy and of the monks. Since the secularisation of the great ecclesiastical principalities in Germany, the most opulent benefices of the Catholic church are to be found in Spain. The archbishops of Toledo, of Seville, of St. Jago, of Valencia, of Saragossa, &c. &c. have more ample revenues than any of ours ever possessed. There are monasteries, particularly Carthusian convents, the landed estates of which occupy the principal part of the districts in which they are situated; and these religious foundations, besides depopulating and impoverishing the circumjacent country, augment its misery, and produce idleness by the blind charity with which they encourage it.

The government, however, which becomes gradually more enlightened, endeavours to obviate the consequences of this mischievous system. In the first instance, the sage policy it adopts in the choice of prelates, proscribes the ostentatious parade of this scandalous luxury, which, by giving offence to the poor, diminishes their respect

for religion; and although among this class there still exist some fanatics, they are, however, collectively, eminent for their benevolence, and for the sobriety of their manners. Their constant residence in their benefices, obliges them to spend all their revenues in the country whence they are derived. They all appropriate a large portion to charitable purposes. Some of them devote a part to the encouragement of industry; and this is not the only way in which the wealth of the clergy is conducive to the welfare of the state. We shall see under the head of taxes, that ample contributions are derived from the clergy. Moreover, the court of Madrid has obtained permission from the Holy See to levy pensions upon all large benefices, amounting to one-third of their revenues. This power was enlarged by a brief in 1783, and extended to all simple benefices of two hundred ducats (about five hundred and fifty livres); and, during the war, which was terminated by the peace of Basle, and occasioned an augmentation of taxes, the church estates, with the connivance of the court of Rome, were assessed in a much higher proportion than those of the laity.

Spain has been more thoroughly convinced than any other Catholic country, of the absurdity of maintaining religious orders, the generals of which reside out of the country. Accordingly the Carthusians of Spain, notwithstanding the

representations I was commissioned to make in 1785, were released from their dependence on the chief establishment of that order; on which occasion, the minister Florida Blanca assured me, that there were only two monastic orders in all Spain, the generals of which resided at Rome; and that it was intended, on their demise, to emancipate these orders from such a dangerous subordination. It does not, however, appear that this design was put into execution.

This minister, being in some respect a philosopher, we must admit, that on particular subjects, he had adopted very enlightened notions. He had closely inspected the Holy See for many years: he had observed on the spot all that gives it such an imposing air, and learned at Rome to appreciate the objects of the veneration of unenlightened Catholics. Roda, his predecessor in the ministry of mercy and justice, had also long resided at Rome in the capacity of auditor of the rota. On his return to Madrid, although generally encompassed with priests and monks, he ventured to divulge opinions concerning the usurpations of the court of Rome, which, however bold they might appear, were nothing more than just, and he regulated his ministerial operations accordingly. If Spain had an uninterrupted succession of ministers like these two, or like some other modern statesmen, she would soon be emancipated from that spiritual bondage, in

which she has been enchained during a period of two centuries.

In the present age, more especially, she has made a rapid progress towards this goal. There are other proofs of this besides those which we have just adduced. The severity of the court of Madrid towards the society of Jesuits; the persevering assiduity with which it prosecuted at Rome the total suppression of this order; the tranquillity of the people, who were calm spectators of these measures: all this, I say, will demonstrate that Spain is by no means so completely subjugated, as is generally supposed, by superstition, and by the absolute dominion of the monks.

CHAP. XIII.

Arguments for and against the Inquisition. Enumeration of the most recent Auto-da-fés. Adventures of M. Olavidé. Present State of the Inquisition. Of the Santa Hermandad.

In Spain there still exists a religious institution which extorts a tear from philosophy, when she beholds this kingdom groaning beneath its cruel bondage. I allude to the holy office, a tribunal which has long since acquired the character and attributes it deserves, and which in Spain is still sustained by the powerful aids of policy and religion.

The candour with which I explained my sentiments concerning the inquisition, in the first edition of this work, has exposed me to different kinds of censure. On the one hand, some Spaniards, men, in other respects, of liberal sentiments, accused me of having overcharged my picture of the holy office with too glaring colours. On the other hand, some Frenchmen, after the perusal of my disquisition, complimented me with the title of a simpleton; nay, almost

with the ruder epithet of an impostor. Between these two dangerous shoals, what course am I to steer? To relate what I have seen, and to communicate my sentiments on the subject, is what I have already done, and shall once more attempt to do.

The vindicators of the inquisition pretend that it is a salutary medium, by which the sovereign authority commands respect; that by overawing the conscience of the subject through a wholesome species of terror, it affords additional security for his obedience; being, moreover, an antidote to those endless variations and ambiguities in the religious creed, by which the repose of the community has been so frequently disturbed. Hence, they affirm, religion derives her unity and purity; and they, moreover, ascribe to the inquisition, the tranquillity which Spain has enjoyed, whilst other Christian countries of Europe were distracted with religious feuds, and with the turbulent zeal of innovators.

Others proceed to still greater lengths. It will scarcely appear credible that Macanaz, a magistrate, otherwise eminent for his knowledge, the very same who addressed to Philip V. a spirited remonstrance against the usurpations of the holy office; that this Macanaz, I say, wrote in 1736 a work which was not published till 1788, and which is entitled *Defensa critica de la Inquisicion.* In this performance, Macanaz says, that even

by the confession of heretics themselves, the holy office never takes any person into custody except his delinquency has been proved by five witnesses, and never condemns him except from his own confession, or when the former evidence is confirmed by two other witnesses; that on the first or second occasion, if the delinquent sues for mercy he is absolved; that the holy office only passes sentence upon heretics, according to the advice of the most enlightened scholars; that the delinquent is well used in prison; that he obtains a hearing whenever he requires one; that the heads of the accusation are read to him, and nothing is concealed from his knowledge but the names of the witnesses; but if any heresy be proved against him, and he does not recant, then the secular power inflicts the punishment denounced by the law.

There is certainly a great deal of truth in this representation, which, were it perfectly accurate, would not however diminish the abhorrence which we cannot help feeling for the inquisition. It appears authenticated (as far as circumstances can be ascertained, which those concerned are compelled to conceal under the most tremendous penalties); it appears authenticated, I say, that the prisoners of the inquisition, although inaccessible to all external visitors, are treated and fed well enough; that the torture, said to be inflicted upon them, is a mere invention, suggested

by resentment, and propagated by credulity, which ever delights in things which are extraordinary, or that it is at least very rarely applied.

Macanaz adds, that even by the confession of the most inveterate enemies of the inquisition, those persons who voluntarily acknowledge their errors and repent, are treated with lenity; that even those who are taken into custody, obtain pardon if they recant; that it is calumny to say that the inquisition confiscates the property of criminals from a rapacious disposition; because all property so confiscated belongs to the king.

But what are we to think of Macanaz, or of the design of his apology, when he acquaints us, with a sort of mock gravity, that the inquisition does not inflict any punishment upon those who persevere in their heresies, and makes no other request than that the lives of the guilty should be spared; that, after their conversion, it only inflicts canonical punishment upon them; but that the sword of justice, which the king has deposited in the tribunal for the chastisement of delinquents, is nevertheless frequently stained with the blood of the guilty; That even in such cases, it is only done with the pious design of converting many by the death of one individual, which also frequently happens?——I shall abstain from all comment. Silent indignation is the only fit reply to such absurd contradictions from the pen

of a magistrate! of one who is held up as a philosopher, and that in the eighteenth century!!

One of the chief defensive weapons which Macanaz employs is recrimination. He pourtrays, of course, a hideous picture of the persecution during the reign of Elizabeth; he even quotes the cruelties committed in France against heretics. In his opinion, the procedure of the inquisition is a pattern of justice and lenity, when contrasted with those dreadful examples of barbarity. Thus, according to Macanaz, or rather according to those who have printed and reprinted his work, because our ancestors were blind and sanguinary, those who are not quite so barbarous in our days, or rather those who in cold bood veil the cruelty of fanaticism under the mantle of justice, and who are the more culpable, because they cannot even plead the phrenzy of passion; such men, I say, have claims upon our respect and esteem; and because they do not extirpate whole nations, like Pizarro, they must of course be the genuine models of humanity like Fenelon!

The ancient and modern antagonists of the inquisition maintain, on the contrary, that it has uniformly banished intellectual refinement from Spain; that it has cherished superstition in that country; has kept the souls of the Spaniards in a tame and servile state of subjection, which naturally suppresses those daring flights of genius

that are alone competent to produce what is great in every department; that, by pre-occupying all the avenues of the heart with fear, it excludes the gentle sentiments of confidence and of friendship, and blasts all the joys arising from the nearest and dearest connections; in short, that, during a period of two centuries, it has doomed Spain to ignorance and barbarism.

This picture is by no means greatly overcharged; but, as I propose to abstain from declamation, I will venture to assert, notwithstanding my abhorrence of the inquisition, that it has been somewhat affected by the universal revolution in manners which has taken place. If this revolution has not essentially altered the original constitution of the holy office, it has, however, produced an abatement in its severity; it has rendered the examples of its cruelty less conspicuous, and less frequent. Those times are elapsed when *Anto-da-fés*, more or less frequent, were pompous festivals, the solemnity of which, under the pretence of doing honour to religion, was an insult to humanity; when the eyes of the people were feasted with the torments of victims consigned to merciless butchers, and to the maledictions of the rabble; when the whole nation crowded to this spectacle as to a triumph; when the monarch, surrounded by his courtiers, imagined that by his immediate presence he was performing an act highly acceptable to the Deity; when

all the circumstances of these savage festivals, the conspicuous figure which an individual had made on this sanguinary theatre; nay, even the pleasure received from them, were recorded with exultation in the literary productions of the day.

After the *Auto-da-fé* in 1680, a pamphlet appeared containing a circumstantial narrative of this ceremony. The author appears to rejoice upon the occasion, as if it were some scene of public triumph. "He is going," he says, "to give an accurate and interesting account of all the circumstances attending this glorious triumph of the faith, together with a catalogue of the grandees who had honoured it with their presence, and the substance of the sentence pronounced against the delinquents."

The censors of the press applaud this pamphlet in the most emphatic manner; "It ought," say they, "by reason of the sublimity of the subject, not only to be conspicuously displayed to Spain, but also to the view of the whole world."

The examiner goes still further than the censors.

"The author," says he, "has fully answered the expectations entertained of such a desirable undertaking; at a moment when public curiosity was wholly occupied with this subject, and when all true believers only lamented its procrastination with pious impatience." In short he cannot be praised too highly for having described, with

scrupulous accuracy, the details of this *wonderful ceremony*.

In the course of his narrative, the author frequently applauds the pious zeal of the monarch, who was present at the *Auto-da-fé*.

"This prince," says he, "having signified that it would give him great satisfaction to be present at the celebration of a general *Auto-da-fé* the council of the inquisition was desirous to give him a signal proof of their regard, by affording him an opportunity of following the illustrious example of his august father Philip IV." Hereupon the grand inquisitor went to kiss the hand of his majesty, assuring him "that he was hastening to make the needful preparations towards the speedy accomplishment of a work which was so agreeable to him."

"It was a great consolation," says he, towards the conclusion, "to all zealous catholics, a cause of confusion to all lukewarm believers, and of astonishment to all the spectators to witness a patience worthy to be admired in future ages. From eight o'clock in the morning his majesty was seated in his balcony, without regarding the sultry heat, or being incommoded by the concourse of people, or wearied by the long duration of the ceremony. His devotion and zeal were so superior to fatigue, that he did not even retire for one quarter of an hour, to take refreshment; and at the conclusion of the

ceremony, he enquired whether all was over, and whether it was time to retire."

The modern Spaniards are far from discovering that cold-blooded cruelty which renders the heart callous to pity; and they may at least lament with impunity the small number of victims which still experience the severity of the inquisition.

Such examples became rare in the past century, which did not witness even a single general *Auto-da-fé* similar to that which I have just noticed.

In 1714, some monks, whose convent was contiguous to a nunnery, were convicted of having abused the ascendency they had acquired over the nuns, and of having seduced them to some irregularities, which they sought to disguise under the cloak of religion. The holy office condemned the principal offenders to death, and according to ancient practice, delivered them to the secular power.

Eleven years afterwards, the inquisition exercised another act of severity, the enormity of which cannot be extenuated. It discovered a family of Moors at Grenada, peaceably employed in manufacturing silks, and possessing superior skill in the exercise of this profession. The ancient laws, supposed to have fallen into disuse, were enforced in all their rigour, and this wretched family was burnt alive.

In 1756, the inquisition pronounced judgment

upon seven delinquents, who had been confined in prison. One of them having been wrongfully accused, was acquitted. The three false witnesses, who had informed against him, one of whom was his own wife, were condemned to an exile of eight years, and to receive two hundred lashes, which, however, were not administered. Another delinquent suffered this punishment: his sentence declared him to be *a heretic, an apostate, and one who was inclining to the Jewish religion, and wavering in his doctrine*; four qualifications which cannot well be reconciled. The only crime of one of these seven, was his having assumed the title of freemason. His sentence was perpetual exile, and the confiscation of his property.

This sentence bore the stamp of ignorance rather than that of cruelty. But in 1763, there was a private *auto-da-fé* at Lerena, in the course of which some obstinate heretics were committed to the flames.

The obscurity of these unfortunate victims prevented their fate from acquiring much publicity; and the universal terror, inspired by the mere name of the inquisition, seemed to be diminished. In 1762, the monarch himself had circumscribed the powers of this tribunal. The grand inquisitor having, contrary to the express will of his majesty, published a bull, which proscribed a French book, he was banished to a convent, within thirteen leagues of Madrid. In

this exile, he sought to justify his conduct, by pleading an ancient usage from time immemorial, by which the holy office was invested with the exclusive privilege of prohibiting dangerous books. In the course of a few weeks he was again restored to favour, but, by the advice of his ministers and the council of Castile, the king issued a decree to the following purport: That hereafter the grand inquisitor should not publish any edicts whatsoever, unless they were transmitted to him by the king.

That whenever he received any briefs, by which books were prohibited, he must, in such cases, conform to the laws of the country, and publish the prohibition, not by quoting the brief, but by virtue of the authority derived from his station.

Lastly, that before the holy office should condemn any book, it must previously summon the author before its tribunal, in order to hear what he had to say in his defence.

This petty triumph was, however, of short duration. The royal confessor caused the decree of 1762 to be repealed in the following year. But M. d'Aranda procured a revival of this decree, by obtaining the support of a mixed council, consisting of magistrates and bishops, which had been appointed on occasion of the expulsion of the Jesuits.

This was not the only attempt he made to-

wards circumscribing the powers of the holy office. He long entertained hopes of annulling its right to appropriate to its own use the property of condemned criminals; but it was objected, that the revenue derived from this privilege, formed a great part of the salary of the officers of the tribunal; it would be therefore requisite, in order to cover this deficiency, to provide a fund of six hundred thousand francs. The proposed reform was deferred.

He was more successful in another attempt. Being president of the council of Castile, which was always distinguished by its zeal in vindicating the rights of sovereignty, and attaching moreover the same prelates to his cause, by the ascendency of his genius and by flattering their secret aversion to a tribunal enriched with the spoils of episcopacy, he obtained at length, in 1770, a royal decree, which confined the jurisdiction of the inquisition to the criminal cases of contumacious heresy and apostacy, prohibiting the same in future from committing any of his majesty's subjects to a dishonourable imprisonment unless their crimes were evidently proved. By this modification it was circumscribed within very narrow limits. In Spain, this victory gave offence to none but a small number of weak and bigotted minds. It was commemorated and even exaggerated abroad. The important crisis was supposed to have arrived, when that hideous

monster which philosophy had long been in pursuit of, would finally be laid prostrate.

This illusion was not dispelled by the removal of M. d'Aranda, which followed soon after, because enlightened citizens, who, notwithstanding their respect for religion, had imbibed the same principles, still continued at the head of the administration. Personal security was re-established; it was moreover guaranteed by the benevolence and moderation of the monarch, and by the tolerant maxims of the principal officers to whom he had delegated his authority. The period of inquisitorial terror seemed to be past; the holy office appeared in a profound lethargy; when all of a sudden, in 1777, it marked its resuscitation by the sacrifice of an illustrious victim. Along with the holy office, terror and fanatic zeal were aroused in Spain, and beyond her confines was enkindled the indignation of the apostles of a wise toleration.

Don Pablo Olivadé, a native of Peru, had been raised by his abilities to one of the first employments in the state, that of intendant of the four kingdoms of Andalusia, and *Assistente* of Seville. The distinction he acquired in this high dignity, had excited envy as well as admiration and gratitude, when a fresh occasion offered to signalize his patriotic zeal.

The king conceived a plan to bring into cul-

tivation, and people that part of the Sierra Morena, through which passes the road from Madrid to Cadiz, a district formerly inhabited and cultivated, but since overgrown with wood, and become the haunts of robbers and of wild beasts. This commission was intrusted to M. Olivadé; he accomplished it with consummate ability; but he could not avoid the rock on which great enterprizes usually split. He created enemies. He exposed himself in particular to the animosity of father Romuald, a German capuchin, who being provided with a patent from the director general of his order, by which he was declared prefect of the new missions, affected the most absolute authority in every thing that had the most distant reference to religion. His designs were strenuously opposed by M. Olivadé, who gave him however a polite reception, and received him upon a footing of intimacy. The disappointed ambition of the monk meditated revenge. Some expressions, which had inadvertently escaped M. Olivadé, furnished the means of vengeance. He fomented the discontents of some of the settlers, who were his own countrymen, and employed them in order to discredit the new establishment and its director. The memorials which they transmitted to the council of Castile, contained the most grievous accusations against M. Olivadé. The latter

was suddenly recalled to court in the month of November, 1775, to confer concerning different objects relative to his mission.

Whilst he resided at Madrid in the most perfect security, he accidentally discovered the snares that were laid to entrap him. He learned from intercepted letters, that father Romuald had concerted his ruin, and that he was buoyed up with expectations of patronage from a great court.

Through another channel he was informed, that this vindictive monk had preferred an accusation to the prime minister against him, of having manifested a contempt of religion, and of having forbidden books in his possession; nay, that he had even made a similar report to the inquisition.

His repose was, however, not disquieted by this dis overy. He sought protection near the throne. He repaired to the grand inquisitor, made solemn asseverations concerning the purity of his faith, with a proposal to retract any improper expressions which might have escaped him. During his residence at Madrid for more than a year, his conduct had been highly exemplary; but nothing could hush the storm which was impending over his head.

On the 14th of November, 1776, a Spanish grandee, acting in the capacity of *alguazil mayor* of the inquisition, accompanied by the ministers

of justice, came to arrest and conduct him to the prisons of the holy office, whilst at the same time, his effects, books, and papers, were seized at Carolina, where his wife resided, and at Seville, his ordinary residence. From that instant he was altogether lost to his wife, to his relations, and friends. During a period of two years they were totally ignorant in what part of the world he resided, or whether he was yet alive, and they relinquished all hopes of ever beholding him again.

On my first arrival in Spain, this transaction was quite recent. I was an eye-witness of the various sensations it produced. The rivals of Olivadé, those who were jealous of his fortune, some honest bigots, misguided by their furious zeal for the cause of God, contemplated this event in the light of a triumph. Many citizens of an austere character, regarded it as the just chastisement of indiscretion, which ought perhaps to have found other judges, but ought not to go unpunished. Consternation, however, was the prevailing sentiment. Every one began to tremble for his own safety, being apprehensive lest, among his most intimate connexions, he might find spies and accusers. All minds were overawed by jealousy and dismay. What reasonable hopes could they cherish of indulging hereafter, within their own dwellings, the generous sentiments of friendship and of confidence?

What man could pretend to such a share of prudence, as to be always master of himself, nicely to balance all his actions, or to sift all his expressions, in order not to furnish any subject of criminal accusation to an enemy lurking in ambush, to a perjured domestic, to a friend, or to a son misguided by religious scruples? The holy office is perhaps influenced more by justice than by the dictates of cruelty, but its constitution is formidable. How can we avoid those thunderbolts which are silently forged in the dark recesses of an impervious labyrinth?

Such were the reasonings suggested by dismay during the detention of M. Olavidé. The apparent lethargy of the inquisition had re-established personal security; this sudden display of its active functions produced a panic among all ranks. This early impression was moreover prolonged by other circumstances. The monks supposed that the auspicious moment was arrived to recover their dominion. No sooner was M. Olavidé arrested, than information arrived that some Capuchin missionaries were indulging all the extravagance of their zeal, and furiously declaiming at Seville against profane theatres. In the mean time, the provincial inquisitions shared in the triumph of their sister tribunal in the capital, and made a trial of their renovated energies. The tribunal at Cadiz was seen commemorating again, with the greatest solemnity, a ceremony

which had been laid aside for half a century, but which is repeated annually at Madrid; I mean the solemn rehearsal of all the decrees of the holy office, of those bulls which are the pillars of its power, and of all those anathemas which it hurls like the thunderbolts of vengeance against the guilty heads of heretics. It seemed as if the holy office was resolved to outrage the feelings of the public.

In the mean time, the judicial proceedings against M. Olavidé, were conducted with the most profound secrecy. At length his fate was decided, after a close imprisonment of two years and seven days, during which period his intercourse with the world was wholly suspended.

On the 21st of November 1778, a convocation was held in the hotel of the inquisition, to which were invited forty persons of different orders, among whom were several Spanish grandees, some general officers, priests, and monks.

The delinquent made his appearance apparelled in yellow robes, carrying a green wax taper in his hand, being accompanied by two ministers of the holy office. All the details of the procedure were read before him. The most interesting document was a circumstantial narrative of his own life, which he had composed himself. In this narrative, he frankly confessed that on his travels he had cultivated the society of superior geniuses, of Voltaire and Rousseau in particular; moreover,

that he returned to Spain strongly tinctured with prejudices against the clergy, and persuaded that the opinions and privileges of the Romish church were hostile to the welfare of nations; that, since he had superintended the colonies of the Sierra Morena, he had frequently, in a rash and inconsiderate manner, declared his sentiments concerning the obstacles which retarded their progress concerning the infallibility of the pope, and the tribunals of the inquisition.

Next came the depositions of seventy-eight witnesses, who accused him of having frequently held the language of free-thinkers; of having ridiculed the fathers of the church, &c. &c. The delinquent confessed many of these accusations, and denied others; alleging, moreover, that the expressions imputed to him were derived from the purest of motives; that, in some instances, his object was to arouse the industry of the colonists committed to his care, whose indolence often disguised itself under the external rites of religion: lastly, that, when he declaimed against the inconveniences of celibacy, his sole view was to encourage population, which is so necessary to the welfare of the state.

This method of exculpating his conduct appeared neither conclusive nor respectful. He was also accused of having employed every artifice in order to mislead the justice of the holy office, by intercepting its letters, and by per-

suading witnesses to retract their evidence; and these charges were proved by his own handwriting.

In fine, the tribunal judged him guilty of all the crimes laid to his charge, and pronounced sentence upon him, by which he was formally declared to be a heretic. He interrupted the ceremony in order to appeal against this denomination. This was the last struggle of his fortitude; he fainted away, and fell from the bench on which he was seated. On the recovery of his senses, the reading of the sentence was continued. It denounced the absolute confiscation of all his property, declared him incapacitated from holding any office, banished him to within twenty leagues of Madrid, from the royal residences, from Seville, the theatre of his lost power, from Lima, his native country; it condemned him to be confined for eight years in a monastery, where he was to read certain godly books, which would be prescribed to him, and to make confession to the priest once a month. After this, he made a solemn recantation, and was absolved from the censures he had incurred with all the formality prescribed by the canons.

The spectators, who, as we may well suppose, were all staunch believers, assert that he manifested unequivocal signs of contrition, and resignation, and could not forbear feeling some emotions of pity.

It is asserted that the monarch, nay even that the grand inquisitor mitigated the rigor of his sentence; some of the judges having voted for death, and others for at least a public and opprobrious punishment; that the royal confessor, in particular, had supported the alternative of severity, consistently with his ferocious and bigotted disposition, which inclined him to suppose that this crime could not be otherwise expiated than by a signal vengeance.

It was, however, a matter of infinite difficulty to ascertain all these facts. Fear had repressed indiscretion on the one hand, and curiosity on the other. A conjecture or a question might have been misconstrued, and have embittered the life of him from whom it proceeded. The picture delineated by Tacitus, in his Life of Agricola, was now realized: *adempto per inquisitiones et loquendi et audiendi commercio*; or rather one of a more modern date, although not less tremendous.

It must nevertheless be confessed that this crisis was not of long duration; the minds of the public presently recovered their wonted serenity: it was known that Charles III. had merciful dispositions, and also that the minister whom he had just appointed was no apostle of fanaticism.

The peculiar circumstances of the victim contributed also to diminish the apprehensions of the public. His talents and success had excited

envy even before they attracted the animadversion of the holy office; and the citizens, having now in a great measure recovered their tranquillity, fondly indulged hopes that their obscurity would be a sufficient safeguard against the severe scrutiny of this tribunal. The sequel, in fact, demonstrated that its severity was only temporary, and that the councils of the monarch were swayed by more merciful maxims.

Scarcely had M. Olavidé entered upon his confinement, in a convent of *La Mancha*, when a representation of his impaired health procured him permission to visit the mineral waters in the vicinity; soon after, he was allowed to make an excursion to those of Catalonia, which he thought would be more efficacious. These, being near the frontiers, he easily eluded the vigilance of his guardians, a circumstance which was doubtless foreseen, and bidding adieu, as he supposed, for ever to his country, he went to France, where his reputation had long preceded his arrival, and where he was received as the martyr of intolerance.*

* On his arrival, he was hospitably entertained, courted by philosophers, and celebrated by poets. Roucher, towards the conclusion of his poem on the seasons, which appeared about this time, alludes to him in the following lines :—

Que de l'Ibére enfin la pieuse furie
Fletrissait un vieillard, l'honneur de sa patrie,
Et solennellement replaçait aux autels
L'hydre avide de l'or et du sang des mortels,

Some months after his flight, the king of Spain, nominally yielding to the suggestions of his confessor, whose appetite for persecution was not yet appeased, demanded his surrender from the court of Versailles. A conciliatory answer was sent in return, that the offences of Olavidé, however heinous they might appear in Spain, were not included among those political crimes, the authors of which are mutually delivered up to each other by civilized nations; and the court of Madrid did not persist in its demand.

Immediately after his escape, he found an asylum at Thoulouse, whence a false alarm induced him to retire to Switzerland. In the sequel, he fixed his residence at Paris, where, under the name of *Count de Pilos,* he led a tranquil and happy life, in the bosom of friendship and of the arts, which must soon have made him ample amends for the loss of his official employments and popularity. Ten years afterwards, the French revolution, which he had doubtless foreseen, and regarded as a desirable event, exhibited, towards the close of his life, a phenomenon of a new kind. He heard the thunder rolling around him; he was himself for some months in danger of being shivered by its bolts. Having passed the ever-memorable epoch of *terror,* under the most cruel and well-founded apprehension, he learned, what he could not possibly suspect fifteen years before, that there

was something under the sun more formidable than the inquisition. He afterwards retired to a rural seat near the banks of the Loire, where his lively and turbulent genius became sedate and tranquil, without extinguishing the fires of his soul. A religion more liberal than that to which he had fallen a sacrifice now supplied him with a fund of consolation; literature opened its treasures, and solitude her fountain of delights; insomuch, that by a strange coincidence of events, the inquisition created, for the first time, a wise and a happy man.*

* When I wrote this in 1797, M. Olavidé entertained no hopes of revisiting a country where he had been proscribed, and whence he had made his escape like a fugitive; but age, misfortunes, and great examples, had led him back to that religion which he had been accused of despising. He not only made a frank profession of christianity, but also dedicated his leisure hours to its vindication, in a voluminous work, which was no sooner known in Spain than it confirmed a belief in the sincerity of his conversion, and produced a more general sentiment of enthusiasm there than his pretended offences had excited of indignation. He found patronage near the throne; nay even, what was far more difficult, among the retainers of that formidable tribunal, which now, for the first time, recollected that the divine legislator, of whose vengeance it assumes the delegated agency, *does not desire the death of a sinner, but that he should be converted and live.* M. Olavidé obtained permission to return to Spain; and in 1798, he appeared again in the same metropolis which, about twenty years before, had witnessed his condemnation. But the sentiments of ambition and of resentment were alike extinguished in his soul.

Since the period of his condemnation, the holy office, on one particular occasion, confirmed those jealous fears which it had excited, by a more tragical example, which, however, did not produce an equal sensation. I still shudder when I recollect that, in 1780, a poor woman at Seville, convicted of sorcery and witchcraft, was condemned by this tribunal to be burnt alive, and this sentence was accordingly put in execution.

With the exception of this tremendous example, the inquisition has confined the exercise of its authority to a few individuals, who expiated irreligious expressions by a recantation, and by slight punishments.

In 1784, I witnessed a scene of this kind, which was acted at Madrid, and exhibited a proof that this tribunal, notwithstanding the dread inspired by its constitution, is sometimes less severe than secular tribunals.

A mendicant, who took up his station at the porch of a church, had dedicated his leisure to the invention and composition of a species of powder, to which he ascribed marvellous qualities. It was a mixture of ingredients, the bare

Soon after, he retired to Andalusia, to one of his female relatives, the only one of his ancient friends, who had survived his long exile. Here he ended his days, in 1803, after having alternately tasted the pleasures, and encountered the dangers, of prosperity.

mention of which would offend the modesty of my readers. He had invented certain strange spells, which were to be pronounced during the application of the remedy. That it might have a proper effect, he prescribed certain corporeal attitudes, which are more easily imagined than described. It was a new kind of those philtres which so long abused the credulity of our ignorant ancestors.

This nostrum was said to have the quality of restoring the appetite of a satiated lover, and of softening the heart of an obdurate mistress.

Every thing which inflames our passions, has likewise an ascendancy over our credulity. The impostor did not fail to make proselytes among that description of people over whom the marvellous has a powerful influence. Some accidental successes gave reputation to his nostrum. He entered into partnership with some women, who assisted its circulation. His powders, however, as we may well suppose, were sometimes ineffectually employed. Most of his dupes, more confounded than exasperated by their disappointment, kept the matter a profound secret; others broke silence, and their complaints at length reached the ears of the holy office. The mendicant was taken into custody, and brought to the inquisition, together with his accomplices, where a legal process was instituted against them in due form.

During his examination, the imprudent empy-

ric confessed the whole; he delivered up his receipt and his spells. This produced one of the most strange judicial proceedings that was ever instituted before any tribunal. At length the day of punishment arrived: the judges, the delinquents, and a crowd of spectators of all ranks, assembled in the Dominican church at Madrid. Divine service was performed; it was interrupted by the recital of this extraordinary judicial process. They were not apprehensive of profaning the temple of the Lord by a repetition of the most obscene particulars. Such were the regulations of the holy office, and they were not even dispensed with in compliment to some young ladies of distinction, who concealed their confusion behind their fans. But this was not all: the nuns themselves, more tenacious of the privileges of their church than of their scruples, did not lose any part of this ceremony, and their modest ears were assailed with these scandalous details. Sentence was pronounced and executed at the conclusion of the mass.

The mendicant was declared arraigned and convicted of sorcery, of profanation, and imposture, and was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, after having been scourged through the principal streets in the town. Two women, his accomplices, were however, treated with more indulgence.

Accordingly, the three delinquents were seen

taking their departure from the Dominican church, mounted upon asses, and arrayed in a *Sanbenito*, decorated with diabolical figures, and other symbols. On their heads, they bore that ominous cap in the form of a sugar-loaf, which is styled *coroza*. The man was naked down to his waist, and displayed an *embonpoint*, which could only be ascribed to the great demand for his powders. The procession was headed by the Marquis de Cogolludo, eldest son of the Duke de Medina Celi, who presided at this ceremony as alguazil mayor; he was followed by several Spanish grandees, *familiars* of the inquisition, and several other officers of the same tribunal. A multitude of spectators occupied all the windows, and filled all the streets. The spectacle which raised their curiosity to such a pitch, did not, in other respects, wound their sensibility. Never was a just sentence executed with more lenity. Every now and then the mendicant halted, the executioner made a gentle application of the whip to his shoulders, and a charitable hand administered a glass of Spanish wine to recruit his strength, and to enable him to act his part to the end of the farce. It were to be wished that the holy office might never have to exert a greater degree of severity.*

* In 1804, the Spanish capital witnessed an *Auto-da-fé* similar to that we have just described. A girl of low extraction, who had amused herself from her twentieth year with visions

In reality this tribunal, as I remarked in 1789, and now repeat in defiance of criticism for the fourth time in 1805, is far from being so formidable as is supposed in foreign countries. I will not undertake the odious office of an apologist, or say that our *lettres de cachet*, under the old government, were of a stamp equally revolting. Neither will I say, that in the age of philosophy, amidst a nation regarded as the most enlightened and humane, we have beheld the most tremendous acts of judicial enormity that were ever committed on the surface of the globe, perpetrated before our eyes. It is no excuse for acts of barbarity to produce others still more heinous and outrageous. I will even confess, that the constitutional forms of the inquisition are calculated to inspire even those with terror who confide most in its equity. The judicial proceedings against delinquents are conducted with the greatest secrecy. The person granted them as counsel is not permited to converse with them except in the presence of the inquisitors. But what is more especially odious in these judicial forms, is this, that when they communicate the evidence

and amorous philtres, was sentenced to be confined eight years, and to count over her beads every day. Previous to the execution of this sentence, she did public penance, with a cord about her neck, during a solemn mass performed on the first Sunday in Lent.

to the accused parties, they carefully conceal from them the names of the authors. How can Spain suffer a practice to continue in one of her tribunals, of which all the modern codes of jurisprudence have felt the inconvenience, and which is not even essential to the original object of its institution?

If the holy office conducted the proceedings against delinquents in a more public manner; if it acquainted them with their accusers, and confronted them together; if it allowed them all the means of defence, would its laws be less scrupulously observed? Would the sacred trust committed to its charge, be fulfilled with less fidelity? Let us not be told, that if they were deprived of the assurance of secrecy, most of those who give evidence would be deterred by a false shame, by a dread of public indignation, and of the resentment of the accused. Is the holy office apprehensive lest the numbers of its victims should be diminished? Has the Deity whom it serves such a voracious appetite for the blood of human victims? If that be its religion, there never was a more horrible scourge let loose upon mankind.

To those who regard it as the only true religion, I will make this concession, that the purity of religious principles, and a veneration for religious worship, are the main pillars of social hap-

piness and tranquillity; that those who openly militate against them, ought to be curbed and chastised. But gratitude to benefactors; the fidelity of servants to their masters; a charitable indulgence towards the failings of our fellow-creatures:—Inquisitors, say, are these virtues less acceptable in the eyes of your Divinity than orthodox opinions? Would his interests be less consulted, if such laudable motives prevented a number of judicial accusations?

Moreover, have other tribunals no other means of discovering the guilt of delinquents? Will not the public officers, commissioned with the prosecution of crimes, suffice to detect those whose punishment is necessary for society or religion? Or do these crimes frequently escape the sword of justice?

With regard to those which would remain unnoticed, without the dishonourable disclosure of a witness, is not their publicity more injurious to religion than their impunity? And when that God whom you serve, I had almost said whom you betray, pronounced a curse upon the man *by whom offence cometh into the world,* did he not also mean to designate him by whom it is propagated, as well as the original author?

This is the language in which I should address the holy office, were I summoned to appear before it. But I should likewise confess, from a

regard to truth, not in order to deprecate the anger of the tribunal, that the inquisition, if we could possibly be prevailed upon to pardon its constitutional forms and the object of its institution, might, even in our days, be adduced as a pattern of equity. It takes all the precautions proper to ascertain the accuracy of the evidence it receives. Let it not be said, on the contrary, that the resentment of an enemy lurking in ambush, will suffice to provoke its vengeance. It never condemns any person on the sole evidence of an accuser, or without investigating the proofs of the accusation. Offences must be aggravated by frequent commission; they must be what are styled by bigots grievous offences, in order to incur its censure; and after a residence of ten years, my observations teach me that, with some circumspection in conversation, and in such particulars as regard religion, any one may elude the grasp of this tribunal, and live as perfectly at his ease in Spain as in any other country of Europe.

But I shall venture to assert still more. During my second residence, of more than a year, I do not remember to have once heard the name of the holy office mentioned, and I could not collect any single fact of a recent date to aggravate the abhorrence I had already conceived of this tribunal; an abhorrence, although I have

been accused of having acted the part of an apologist. It was not because about this period (in 1792 and 1793) the tribunal had relaxed in its severity, but because more important objects and more imminent dangers, the progress of our revolutionary sentiments, claimed the attention of the Spanish government, and seemed to have wholly absorbed its cares. It was not simply irreligious Frenchmen who were watched or persecuted; it was those Frenchmen who had imbibed maxims formidable to despotism, and were anxious to propagate them. The alcaldes, the corregidors, the commanding officers, the governors of provinces, were all of them become so many political inquisitors, more vigilant, nay, even more formidable, than their colleagues of the religious order; insomuch that the latter, relying upon the numbers and industry of these active substitutes, seemed to have indulged themselves with a vacation of some few years.

It was, therefore, chiefly during my first residence in Spain, that I collected the prominent features of that portrait which I have given of the Spanish inquisition.

I have still to add, that, among all foreigners, the French are chiefly the objects of the unceasing vigilance of this tribunal.

The officious zeal of many of its provincial commissaries, has given birth to many persecu-

tions, under frivolous pretences, and disturbs the repose of citizens by the search of houses, in order to confiscate immoral pictures or prohibited books; but this zeal is frequently curbed by the court, or by the grand inquisitor, which office, during the late and the present reigns, has been filled by prelates of a wise and temperate character. I have witnessed several examples of this kind, among which the following is one of the most remarkable:

It is now more than twenty years, since a French house at Cadiz, having received a consignment of leather from one of our manufactories, was suddenly honoured by a visit of the officers of the inquisition. They demanded the leather lately arrived, and observing that it was stamped with the image of the Blessed Virgin, which was the mark of the manufactory, they exclaimed against this profanation; for this leather being intended for shoes, the image of the mother of God would consequently run the risk of being trodden under foot. It was consequently doomed to be confiscated; and this sentence was accordingly carried into execution. The ministers of the inquisition reported their booty to the supreme tribunal at Madrid. The evidence was also transmitted, and I had it for some time in my hands; for the merchants being likewise under apprehensions, had presented a

remonstrance to the Spanish ministry, through the medium of their ambassador. The government and the tribunal treated this complaint as it deserved. The officers of the inquisition were enjoined not to molest strangers under such trifling pretexts; and the goods were restor- to the owners.

The ministry and the grand inquisitor have more recently protected some peaceable citizens against the intrigues of subaltern officers belonging to the inquisition. At Barcelona they attempted to molest a French house, because it was of the Protestant persuasion; and when it was represented to them that the English, and other northern nations, although heretics, were tolerated in Spain, they replied, that no other besides the Catholic religion was known in France. No sooner was the case of this persecuted house represented to the court than it was redressed. Fortunately there will never occur again any such pretence to oppress Frenchmen in Spain.

Finally, although there may actually exist more inquisitorial intolerance in the provinces than in the metropolis, no material inconvenience can ever arise from it; because the decisions of the provincial tribunals are only valid when they are sanctioned by that of Madrid, which, for this reason, is denominated *la suprema*. For

several years past, however, the court interferes more than ever in the administration of the holy office, and this intervention is by no means calculated to augment its severity. In 1784, it was ordained, that if the inquisition should have occasion to try any Spanish grandee, any of his majesty's ministers, any military officer, any member of his tribunals, in short any *placemen*, the legal proceedings must be submitted to his majesty for his revision and approbation. By these means, the principal citizens have obtained another safeguard against the arbitrary decisions of the holy office. We have only to lament that it has been granted to such classes as cannot fail to find protection, rather than to those whose complaints, by reason of their obscurity, can scarcely be heard. But wherever the people have not at least an indirect share in the promulgation of laws, they are constantly overlooked, when they are not oppressed by their legislators. The rigorous operation of the laws is strictly enforced with respect to them, but they are not suffered to participate in their indulgence.

Until the present day, the inquisition has enjoyed the undisturbed monopoly of a duty levied upon all ships that enter the Spanish ports, in consequence of the search it is authorized to make, in order to see that they do not contain any thing offensive to religion. The search has

long been neglected, but the duty is still levied. Were this the only grievance alledged against the holy office, we should easily be reconciled to it.

In 1789, I concluded this long dissertation on the inquisition, by expressing a wish that the kings of Spain might be ultimately induced to place sufficient confidence in the submission of their subjects, in the vigilance of their temporal courts of justice, and in the enlightened zeal of the Spanish prelates, in order to dispense entirely with this tribunal. But after the transactions that have recently occurred in Europe, I am inclined to suspect that the accomplishment of this desirable object remains still far distant. I am apprehensive lest even the wisest of sovereigns, jealous of their prerogative, may embrace with a two-fold affection those stays that still sustain their thrones, shaken by such a tremendous concussion; and lest, from the outrageous excesses of philosophy run mad, which among us has broken through all restraints, they may derive additional arguments in favour of those institutions which prevent the disorders of irreligion by the maxims of intolerance. More than one observation appears to confirm these sinister conjectures. Since the return of peace with France the priests have reassumed their ancient ascendancy in Spain; the lectures on national rights

and public jurisprudence have been suppressed, and the treatise of Macanaz on the inquisition has been republished.

We shall presently see whether the most efficacious means of insuring the obedience of subjects is to blindfold and to keep them in ignorance; whether they are conducted with greater safety through opaque darkness than by the broad daylight of reason; or whether, to employ the language of despotism itself, a moderate government is not best calculated to secure the rulers themselves against the explosions of liberty.

Before we dismiss this subject, we must just notice a political body which many people confound with the holy office, but which has no relation with it, except that of one common epithet: I mean the *Sancta Hermandad*, which is so frequently mentioned in Spanish novels. It is nothing more than a fraternity dispersed in various districts of the kingdom of Castile, whose sole object is to watch over the safety of the country, and to prosecute all disturbers of the public peace. It is subordinate to the Council of Castile, from which it receives its regulations. One of these regulations, most severely enforced, is that it must make no encroachments upon the jurisdiction of the towns. Its principal stations are Toledo, Ciudad, Rodrigo, and Talavera.

Let us now resume our observations on the

internal administration of Spain. We began with the Council of Castile, which conducted us to the administration of justice, to legislation, and lastly to the tribunal of the inquisition. In the next volume we shall proceed to take a survey of the other councils of the monarchy.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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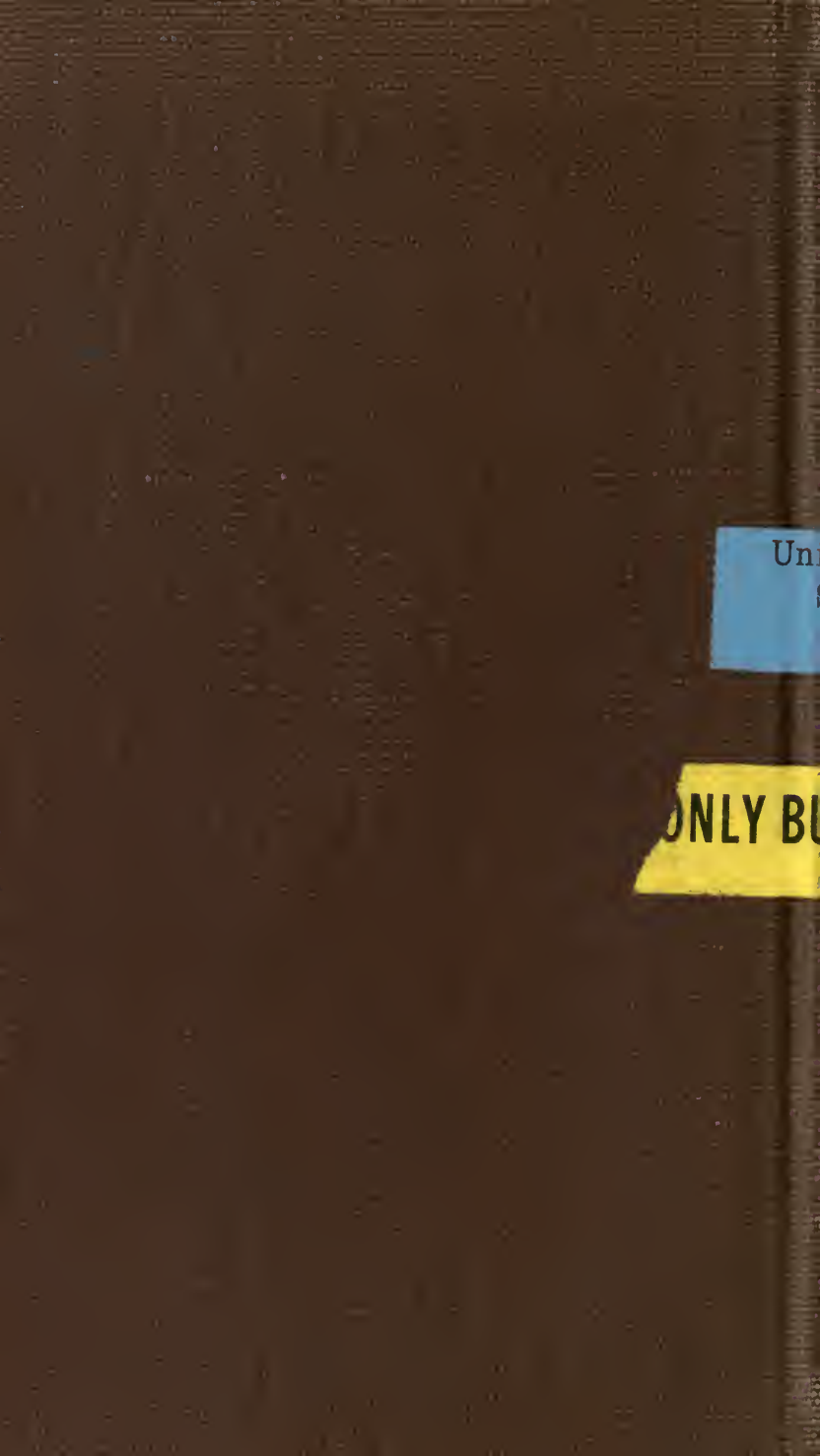
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